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ART. I.—CANADIAN AFFAIRS.

*Circulaire du Comité de l'Association d'Annexion de Montreal,
au Peuple du Canada.*

*Earl Grey's Despatch to Lord Elgin of 9th January, 1850;
and an Address to the People of Canada, by the Annexation
Association of Montreal, in reply to the above Despatch.*

THESE documents, though brief, relate to weighty subjects, and indicate movements in the British Provinces to which the American people can scarcely be altogether indifferent. The country, which some of our Canadian neighbors propose annexing to ours, is important both in extent of territory and in population; and its energetic inhabitants, with its vast natural resources, must, notwithstanding present embarrassments and difficulties, make it both wealthy and powerful at no distant day. It is not very easy to give the precise geographical limits of Canada. But all that territory lying north of the great lakes and river, drained by streams falling into the St. Lawrence, is usually considered as belonging to Canada proper; while that which is drained by rivers emptying into Hudson's Bay or the Atlantic, is commonly reckoned as belonging to other British Possessions. According to this division, (confessedly not very well defined,) the most northern line of Canada is near the fifty-third degree of north latitude; the most eastern point is Cape Gaspé, and the most western is Fort William on Lake Superior, or rather Goose Lake; in all, it is about 1,300 miles long and 700

wide, and contains about 348,000 square miles. It is this vast country, comprising every variety of climate and soil, and already inhabited by a million and a half of people, which the Canadian Annexationists offer us as a gift, and to which their movements invite our serious attention.

The first pamphlet which we have placed at the head of our article contains an address to the people of Canada, setting forth the advantages of annexation, and some of the alleged political grievances which should make the Canadians favor this change of allegiance. It contains also a report of the resolutions passed and the speeches delivered at a meeting of the Annexation Association, held in Montreal on the 8th of November, 1849. It is signed by a large number of merchants and others in and about Montreal, and many of the signers are of the highest respectability. The other document is a somewhat threatening despatch of Earl Grey, occasioned by the movements of the Canadian Annexationists, followed by a bold remonstrance on their part against the spirit and principles of the despatch.

In order to understand clearly the present state of the Canadas, it will be necessary for us to review briefly some of the causes which have kept up, for the last thirty years, a perpetual fermentation in the colonies of British North America, especially in Upper and Lower Canada.

We have long been satisfied, that none of the colonies of Great Britain can be peaceful or contented for any great length of time. Especially does this remark bear upon colonies situated as Canada is. The reasons are obvious. Englishmen generally deem their own form of government nearly perfect, and think they confer the greatest possible boon upon their colonies when they give them a miniature likeness of the British Constitution. They are ready to pronounce the bitter curse that brands ingratitude upon that people who will not be satisfied with the glorious institutions of Old England. In the first attempts to govern colonies, the English Government thought, that their colonists in various lands should be well satisfied with less of freedom and privilege than were enjoyed in merry England. But if experience confounded British statesmen, by showing them the absurdity of this expectation, she exasperated them and made them sulky, when she proved that the most exact transcript of the British Constitution which could be given to a colony, would not fully satisfy the people. In forming governments for the colonies, the public men of England too generally forgot that the institutions of their country are the growth of ages, and that they

have shaped themselves to the circumstances and state of the people among whom they obtain. In new countries there are not the materials, were the settlers ever so anxious to adopt them, out of which to construct aristocratic institutions. Besides, five out of six of the emigrants who leave the countries of the Old World, do so because they feel themselves cramped and burdened by the institutions of their native lands. It can scarcely be expected, therefore, that these people will, in the land of their adoption, quietly suffer to be placed upon them the very burdens and fetters which they left the home of their fathers almost on purpose to avoid. In addition to this, the people of Canada, by frequent and intimate intercourse with the United States, have more fully satisfied themselves of the superior excellency of that state of things in which the wishes of the people are respected, both in Church and State. But whilst a very large proportion of the colonists feel thus, there are always others found who are professedly or really blind to the excellencies of all forms or modes of government but the English. This class will always rally around the officials and men of power;—real patriotism among the settlers of a new country is a rare virtue,—partly from honest conviction, and partly from the hope of sharing the crumbs, which are generally very abundant where servants feast at the expense of their masters. Thus two parties go out to the colonies of Great Britain, ready formed and prepared for strife: the one haughty, stiff, and presuming, as if possessed of a natural, inalienable right to be first in Church and State; the other, chafed and sore on these points, naturally resent with vehemence any attempt to establish aristocratic institutions, and very often suspect the other party of sinister designs in all their movements. Thus the strife is not merely that of two great political parties having different schemes of national policy, but there is to a considerable extent the personal feeling of animosity which subsists between the oppressor and oppressed.

In addition to these things, differences of race, of religious sentiments, and of national sympathy, embitter all the conflicts in the colonies of Great Britain. For, during the first generation at least, men do not become fully naturalized to a new country, but retain—English, Scotch, Irish or French—all the elements of nationality.

The two Provinces which constitute united Canada cannot be spoken of under the same head. They differ widely in climate, in population, in enterprise, in religion, and in national customs. And, though many in both sections of the

Province did rise in open rebellion against the authority of the Colonial Government, the measure of provocation, and the causes which led to the outbreak, were widely different in Upper and Lower Canada.

The latter Province was first settled by the French, under Samuel de Champlain, in 1608, on the spot where the city of Quebec now stands. Seventy-four years before this, Jacques Cartier had seen an Indian village on this site. But, two hundred and fifty years ago, European governments generally discouraged colonization; and the consequence was, that the French colony in Canada progressed very slowly during the hundred and fifty years through which it remained in the hands of France. At the close of that period, the city of Quebec did not contain over 8,500 inhabitants; and four years after the conquest of the country by General Wolfe, when the Province was ceded in full sovereignty to Great Britain by the treaty of Paris, (1763,) the whole population of the country did not exceed 70,000. In the full spirit of conquest, the English Government changed at once the whole system of jurisprudence then established in the country, both civil and criminal, and assimilated it to that of Great Britain. It was hoped that the colony would soon become by immigration from the British Isles essentially English in its inhabitants, as well as in its laws and customs. This proved to be an erroneous calculation, for the inhabitants of French origin continued to outnumber by far those from England; and they never really forgave the English for conquering them, nor for changing their customs and laws. About the commencement of the American Revolution, in order to soothe and conciliate the Canadians, the English Government restored, by the act of 1774, called the Quebec Act, the French customs and laws, in all *civil* cases. Here were two blunders: the one, in abolishing these old feudal relics, especially at the peculiar time and in the manner in which this was done; the other, and yet graver blunder, consisted in restoring these antiquated customs and laws after they had once been done away. Seventeen years after this (1791) the Province of Quebec was divided into two, called respectively Upper and Lower Canada; and a *kind* of representative system was introduced, precisely the same in both sections, with this exception, that the Governor of Lower Canada was the highest authority in the Provinces, the chief officer in Upper Canada being called a Lieutenant Governor. According to this Constitution, (if it should be dignified with such a title,) there were to be in each Province a Governor,

an Executive Council, and a Legislative Council representing the English House of Lords. All these were appointed by the Crown. There was also a House of Assembly elected by the people of Canada. This was considered by the great William Pitt the perfection of wisdom and benevolence. The colonists were blest with a fac-simile of the British Constitution, and would they, could they murmur after this?

The Constitution of 1791, however, laid the foundation of all the troubles which have since agitated and cursed the Canadas. We cannot conceive of a better contrivance for developing all the latent elements of strife and discord scattered over the country, than this famous Constitution. The officials sent out from England, or appointed by the King from among the residents in the country, were too often rapacious men, who regarded Canada much as people looked upon India twenty years ago; they thought it was made, not to live in, but to furnish as speedily as possible a gigantic private fortune. And from the fact, that the officers of government were in no sense amenable to the country which they ruled, they despised the wishes and interests of the people. The popular branch of the Legislature was soon discovered to be a mere cipher "set at the extreme left;" and a handful of Englishmen, many of them strangers to the country, had the entire control and government of a people that outnumbered them five times over. These officers had the ear of the English Government, and consequently the complaints of the people, whether well or ill founded, seldom reached the throne. It could scarcely be expected that such a state of things could long be quietly borne by a people who disliked the English race. They had too good an opportunity of gratifying their national prejudices, under the appearance of patriotism and love of constitutional liberty. Soon therefore were the Legislative Council and the elective Assembly in direct antagonism to each other; and in this state they continued, with greater or less bitterness, till the revolution of 1837-8, or more properly perhaps till the adoption of the resolutions of 1841.

If the Anglo-Saxons had to charge the French Canadians with opposing many valuable reforms, and with being doggedly conservative of the miserable relics of the feudal system introduced at the first settling of the country, the latter could justly retort, that their rights as British subjects were to a great extent denied them; that they had been mocked by the shadow of a representative government; that, though they imposed their own taxes, they could not control their

expenditure, or punish public officers for political delinquencies or crimes.

Thus the Constitution of the country, instead of mingling or fusing the two races into one, tended only to embitter national animosities, and make it all but impossible for them to live under one government. The origin, the religion, the manners and customs of the two people are different. And when we add to this the fact, that the honors and emoluments of office were chiefly given to men who spoke the English language, even though they represented but a fraction of the population, we cannot wonder that the affections of the French inhabitants should have been alienated from Great Britain—if indeed they ever had any love for it.

On the other hand, many considerations may be urged in apology for the course pursued by the English Government. Had the power been put into the hands of the French Catholics, it is certain that laws would have been passed and measures adopted which would have paralyzed the prosperity of the Province, and made the country utterly intolerable to any man of British origin. On the one hand, the people who spoke the English language, though comparatively few in number, possessed the intelligence, the enterprise, and the self-control which entitle people to rule; on the other, there were overwhelming numbers, unenterprising in spirit, shortsighted in policy, bigoted in religion, and destitute of that self-control and moral culture which alone can fit a nation to govern themselves. Suppose the British residents in India were entirely subjected to the natives, or the American residents in Mexico had no more influence than bare numbers would give them, what would be the results? In proportion as the Government party firmly refused to comply with the wishes of the French, their demands appear to have grown more numerous and peremptory, for they felt the power of numbers.

There has we think been a very general mistake in this country respecting the real nature of the difficulties, especially in Lower Canada. Because the French Canadians have been for years in opposition to the British Government, and because they have in general only demanded those rights which belong to a strictly popular government, they have by the American people been commonly considered as patriots, liberals, and reformers. The French Canadians have indeed contended for popular institutions; but for the simple reason that such institutions would be entirely under their own control, whilst they themselves are under their priests and nota-

ries public. There never was a greater mistake than to suppose a French Roman Catholic liberal in any proper sense of the word. The British settlers in Lower Canada have been really the liberals and reformers in that section, albeit they have nearly all been ranked with the Tories. They have always been in favor of improvements of all kinds. They have insisted upon law reform, upon a general system of common-school education, upon the abolition of the tithe system, the "*lods et vents*," and the remodelling of the seigneurial tenures. In a word, they have insisted upon sweeping away as far as possible all the remnants of the feudal system both from Church and State. To all these reforms the French party have either paid no attention, or have exhibited an active opposition.

The difficulties in Lower Canada did not develop themselves very rapidly, at least not in their present incurable form. It was not till twenty-nine years after the proclamation of the Constitution of 1791, that the French party were fairly organized under their leaders, Papineau and Neilson, for fierce and protracted strife. These gentlemen were most excellent agitators, though they have since proved themselves meagre politicians, and most contemptible soldiers. Lord Dalhousie, from 1820 till he was recalled, saw wrangling enough to satisfy even a sturdier spirit than his. The English Government began to be aware of the blunder they had committed in separating Upper from Lower Canada; and they proposed in 1822 to retrace their steps by reuniting the two Provinces. This movement agitated the whole country, like the ocean in a storm. Then the "Canada Tenures Act," by which the relations between the "seigneurs" and their tenants were abolished, still further exasperated the people. There are in Lower Canada one hundred and seventy-five seigneuries and thirty-three fiefs.* And though it was a real boon to the country to abolish these remnants of barbarism, the people had not asked it, and had now been taught to suspect every act which was sanctioned in England. In 1827 Lord Dalhousie refused to acknowledge L. I. Papineau—the greatest demagogue among all the French leaders—as

* The proprietors of these make over small lots, under feudal titles, to hard-working men, who, on thus receiving a permanent interest in the soil, are willing to clear and cultivate it. The annual payment, or quitrent, is various on different seigneuries; on some it does not exceed two dollars a year, with a bushel of wheat and two fowls. The seigneur has besides certain feudal claims: a tithe on fish, mill-dues, and especially payments on sale or transference, (i. e. *lods et vents*,) which in some cases amount to one fifth of the purchase money. Cf. *Murray*, Vol. I. Cap. 5.

Speaker of the Assembly, when chosen to that office. The excitement consequent on this grew so great, that the English Government appointed a Commission to inquire into the state of things. This Commission reported in July, 1828, to the effect that the difficulties of the Province were occasioned by the different characters of the French and English populations, and by the faulty construction of the Legislative Council. Some suggestions were then made which might, if adopted, have soothed the irritation at that time existing, but none that could reach the root of the evil, or give permanent peace to the colony. An open rupture however was avoided by the recall of Lord Dalhousie. His successor, Sir James Kempt, pursued a conciliatory course during the two years of his administration. Lord Aylmer, who succeeded him in 1830, adopted a similar policy; but as really nothing was done to remove the grievances of which the French Canadians complained, they lost all patience, and voted in 1836 to grant taxes only for six months. This resolution, with a list of grievances, was sent to England, and drew forth Lord John Russell's celebrated Resolutions of 1837, to the effect that the wishes of the Canadians should not be conceded. In reply to this, the Canadian Assembly stopped the supplies in August, 1837, and were soon after prorogued *sine die* by Lord Gosford. Now the confusion became greater than ever; and Dr. Neilson and Mr. Papineau began to organize clubs, &c., to carry out their aims.

Next followed the ill-advised and ill-fated outbreaks of 1837 and 1838, and the suspension of the Constitution till November, 1840. The English Government next appointed a high officer with all the powers of a dictator, to settle the distracted affairs of the country. But after five months of toil, in which he failed of pleasing any party, he threw up his office and went home. The fact was, that no one man could then bring order or harmony out of such confusion and uproar. At length the Act of Parliament, III. and IV. Victoria, c. 35, was carried into effect by the resolutions of Mr. Baldwin (the present Attorney General of Canada) on the 23d July, 1841. By these resolutions, the Provinces were reunited, and an entirely new model or Constitution was adopted for the united Province. We shall call attention to the leading provisions of this new instrument of government at another stage of our remarks.

The political and social difficulties of Lower Canada appear to us all but insurmountable. Nothing but the conversion of the Catholics to God, and the diffusion of a sound

common-school education, can lay the foundation for permanent social peace and prosperity in that important section of the Province. In the work of conversion a good beginning has been made by the devoted missionaries of La Grande Ligne and Belle Reviere; "but what are they among so many?" "The harvest truly is great, and the laborers are few." And it has yet been found utterly impracticable to carry into effect any general system of common-school education. In the rural districts the obstacles in the way are even greater than they are in cities and towns. The Protestants will not allow a Jesuit to teach their children, nor will the Catholics suffer a Protestant to teach theirs. English children do not want a French teacher, nor do French children want an English one. Catholic teachers, being at the beck of the priests, insist upon introducing their religion more or less into the schools; and consequently Protestants refuse to be taxed for the support of such schools, while Catholics refuse to pay for the support of heretic teachers. In the present school law an attempt is made to exclude, to some extent at least, religion from common schools; but even this imperfect attempt is frowned upon, for the parish priest or his echo, the village notary, is generally the chief trustee. And often is the effort to carry into effect the present school law resisted with open violence! In several parishes in the vicinity of Quebec, and very recently in the neighborhood of Three Rivers, the public deace has been openly violated by the anti-school-law men. The truth is, that the great majority of French Canadians do not desire education of any kind, whilst the British settlers are often too sparse and widely scattered to maintain a teacher of their own denomination and language. It is almost impossible to form a correct estimate of the schools of Lower Canada from the materials now at hand. The report of the Chief Superintendent is only a very distant approximation to the actual state of things. From many parishes very imperfect reports are sent to him, and from many more he receives no report at all; and hence neither he nor any one else can at present tell the amount of deception that enters into the reports of some parishes, or the extent of the indifference or hostility to the school law which prevails in others. In 1832 there were nominally 51,965 scholars in the schools of Lower Canada, and three years after the number had risen to nearly 95,000. These, in nine cases out of ten, were attending to the merest rudiments of learning. Yet we think these were the palmy days of common schools in that section of the country; for in 1836 the legislative grant to common schools was

withdrawn, and the whole system vanished with alarming rapidity. Then, during the turbulent years which followed, up to 1841, little could be effected for education or anything else. Since the latter date common-school laws have been passed, and amended, and altered at nearly every session of Parliament, and still they have no system which gives full satisfaction to either Protestant or Catholic, English or French. Not more than one in ten of the adult male inhabitants of French origin can even read at the present time. The population of this section in 1830 was 512,000, of which 400,000 were of French origin, and spoke the French language. At the present time there are 776,000 inhabitants, of whom 600,000 are of French origin. This shows the slight gain of one seventy-fifth in the proportion of British settlers during the last twenty years.

In passing to the Western section of Canada, still popularly known by the title of Upper Canada, we shall find a change in many respects for the better. This is a younger country, and is much more healthful and vigorous. An entirely different race of men have the predominance here; and though the local government was for many years as vicious as shameless rapacity and corruption could make it, yet the country continued to grow rapidly in wealth, intelligence, and population. There are few spots that can fairly rival the peninsula formed by Lake Simcoe, the Georgian Bay, Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, in the mildness of its climate, and in the beauty and fertility of its soil. This tract, comprising about 20,000 square miles, is of rich alluvial soil, and "well watered everywhere as the garden of the Lord."

Upper Canada was settled chiefly from Great Britain and Ireland. Some went from the more eastern British provinces, and some "United Empire Loyalists" went from this country at the commencement of the Revolution. In 1783 the whole territory did not contain over 10,000 inhabitants. In 1814 they had increased to 95,000, and six years after they numbered 145,000. When the site of the city of Toronto was surveyed by direction of Governor Simcoe, in 1793, with the exception of a small fort erected by the French for trading purposes, a little to the westward of the main part of the city as now built, the place contained but two Indian wigwams, on the edge of a boundless forest. The city now contains over 26,000 inhabitants, and the whole population of Upper Canada now exceeds 724,000.

We have already remarked that Upper Canada was set apart as a separate Province, with its own Legislature, by the

act of 1791. The constitution or scheme of government was precisely the same as that of Lower Canada. The whole corps of rulers was soon collected and equipped for office; and certainly a more selfish and stubborn class of men were seldom placed in power than a great portion of those who had the chief control in the affairs of Upper Canada for almost forty years. Nearly every question of politics or of education became mysteriously complicated and involved, through their peculiar management, with the subject of religion. The persevering and unscrupulous efforts made by "the Church" party to establish a dominant State Church have made more "rebels" and infidels in Canada than all other causes put together. We cannot fully sympathize in this country with the English Dissenters, or with those in the British colonies who hold the same principles. We often blame their ministers and prominent members for meddling so much with politics. But when Christian men find that their hard earnings are taken to support a lordly system, one of whose almost inevitable tendencies is to infringe upon the dearest rights of conscience, and to oppress their poorer brethren,—to multiply formalists and infidels, and cast its baleful shadow over their whole religious, educational, and political interests, they may surely be excused if they adopt their only constitutional means of protesting against this evil under which "they groan, being burdened." We see not why a Christian layman or minister should not discharge his duties in his political relations as well as in any other. It is true, politics are very absorbing, and may draw off the attention of men from yet more important concerns. But against this danger they should set a double guard. It may perhaps be regarded as the misfortune of men to be situated as our dissenting brethren in England and in some of the British colonies are; but we are greatly mistaken if American Christians would be more careful of interfering in politics, were the like evils existing, or about to be introduced, among them. State Churchism has been *the* difficulty of Upper, as French Catholicism has been that of Lower Canada. The old Legislative Council was designed to be a fac-simile of the House of Lords, and of course the dignitaries of the Episcopal Church in Canada took their seats in the upper house of the Legislature. This was taking it for granted that this denomination was or would be the established, dominant one; and seven eighths of the people entered their earnest and repeated protest against this idea. But for many years they did so in vain.

A gentleman by the name of John Strachan, a native of Aber-

deenshire in Scotland, emigrated to Canada about forty-five years ago. He was richly endowed with all the peculiarities of the Scottish race, cool, clear-headed, and cautious; but with far more than the ordinary share of selfishness. He was like most of his countrymen a Presbyterian by profession, and he was a minister by education. But being rather a "cauld-drif" and dull preacher, he found little encouragement at that time to pursue his vocation as a minister in connection with his own denomination. He therefore opened a select school, first, if we rightly remember, in the village of Cornwall, U. C., and soon joined the Episcopal Church. Among his pupils were many of the sons of the leading men in the country, and several of these have since risen to the highest distinction in the colony. This teacher, though destitute of any just claims to extensive or accurate scholarship, was possessed of boundless ambition, indomitable perseverance, and keen political sagacity. As his pupils rose to distinction and influence, they remembered their old teacher, and in due time he was promoted to be Archdeacon of York, with a seat in the Legislative Council. Here he soon made his influence felt, and became the virtual dictator of Upper Canada for nearly twenty years. This gentleman is now the Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Canada West; but he long since was compelled to vacate his seat in the Legislative Council, and to confine himself to his own appropriate functions as a Bishop. During the heyday of his power, however, he and his supporters sowed the seeds of that harvest of trouble, which the inhabitants of that section of country have been so long reaping. In the long period of their ascendancy they manifested a perfect contempt for the wishes and interests of the people, except for those of that class who were or would become Episcopalians. The Legislative Council, with the Church dignitary at its head, became a kind of "Church Society," and often framed measures with reference to the interests and welfare of the Episcopal Church. The wild lands of the Province were granted with a reckless profusion to a few individuals friendly to the ruling powers. The Crown Reserves, one seventh of all the granted lands in the country, mysteriously melted away out of the hands of the Government, and they could show nothing as value received. Public works were often undertaken, at great expense to the Government, not because of their public utility solely, but because they would raise the value of some favorite's estate. Yet who could call the officials to an account for their conduct? They had the ear of the

Colonial Office in England, and would that Office entertain complaints against its own trusted servants?

Then nearly all the offices and emoluments of Government were confined to the same sect in religion or politics. A man could seldom be appointed even as a Justice of the Peace, unless he avowed himself a Tory or a Churchman. Next, the Clergy Reserves, another seventh of all the granted lands in the colony, were claimed exclusively for the Episcopal Church, at that time one of the smallest sects in the Province. Baptists, Congregationalists, and Methodists could not, as religious bodies, hold so much land as would make a graveyard, or be a building lot for a church. Ministers of the above denominations could not for some time join their own people in marriage. In 1798, 500,000 acres of land were set apart for the purpose of endowing four grammar schools and a University for the whole Province. As soon as these lands became of any value, steps were immediately taken to pervert the whole to sectarian purposes. In the order of nature and common sense, the grammar schools should have been started first; but Dr. Strachan, finding that these could not be so easily or permanently perverted, succeeded in having them set aside *sine die*, and he turned the attention of his friends and all his own energies towards having a grand provincial University set agoing. At length, in 1826, he procured the appointment of himself as agent, to visit England for the purpose of securing a royal charter for the proposed University. He went in the name of the Upper Canadian Government, and spent eighteen months in England before his false representations of the religious state of Canada—we speak advisedly—could effect his purpose. He at length returned to the Upper Province, with a charter as exclusive as that of the University of Oxford! According to this, every Professor or officer in the University must sign the Thirty-nine Articles; and all this when nine out of ten of the inhabitants of Canada were totally opposed to his religious views and policy. It was no wonder that the whole country was exasperated when the provisions of the charter became known. Not only were these provisions most unrighteous, but the means by which they were obtained were yet more so. And yet, for this strangely patriotic service, the Dr. received from the Government of the day, in cash and lands, \$19,404!! Besides, this University, thus established, cost the country more than \$400,000 before the first student's name was enrolled on its books, and before there was more than a single wing of a college edifice.

During all these years common schools were greatly if not altogether neglected. The public lands set apart for their support were arbitrarily applied to other purposes. The party in power appeared to be determined that common schools, if not under the control of the Episcopal Church, should not have their support or countenance. Indeed, rarely have high Tories or High Churchmen cordially lent themselves to the cause of popular education. Next, there were fifty-seven rectories endowed in Upper Canada for the exclusive benefit of the Episcopal Church, and on all occasions did the leading members of the Episcopal Church act as if theirs was the Established Church of the Province. Petitions without number were poured in against this unrighteous rule, and these acts of shameless corruption and spoliation. The throne of England was besieged with prayers, and the Parliament of Great Britain was appealed to, times without number. But means were constantly adopted to nullify the influence of these representations. Those who were dissatisfied with the Canadian Government were always reported to the English Government by the party in power as republicans, and avowed enemies of the British Government. Besides, would the Bishops in the House of Lords allow any steps to be taken which would prevent their darling scheme of State policy and of Church aggrandizement from being realized? In vain did the representatives of the people almost unanimously, year after year, pass resolutions and frame bills, and send them to the Legislative Council for approval; they were always rejected when in any way inimical to the peculiar policy of this Canadian House of Lords. The upper House was responsible to the King, and not to the people of Canada; what cared they, therefore, for popular approbation? It is true, the Colonial Office changed the Governors of Upper Canada time and again, and some trifling concessions were made to the oft expressed wishes of the people. But the Governors were generally of the same class, and bigots in religion, or in politics, or in both; and the Legislative Council remaining unchanged in its spirit and elements, (indeed it at length earned for itself the title of "Family Compact," as descriptive of its materials and acts,) little benefit was derived from the changes or concessions that were made. The few rights and privileges which were granted to the earnest demands of the people, only tended to consolidate and establish more firmly the grand elements of misrule which so vexed and irritated them. At last, after having been foiled for twenty years in

their constitutional efforts to obtain simple justice, "the wrath of the people rose up so that there was no remedy."

We are no advocates for rebellion or civil war, much less for that of 1837 and 1838 in Upper Canada, because we think the evils complained of could have been removed without this extreme resort, and the ends aimed at could have been better secured by other measures. But we certainly think there are limits to the endurance of political and social evils. Assuredly England was not worse governed under the First Charles than Upper Canada was under the Constitution of 1791; nor was James II. a more obstinate, bigoted, incurable poltroon than Sir Francis Bond Head. And if Englishmen were right in taking a firm stand against the aggressions of Charles, if they were right in bringing over William to chase James from the throne, we see not why the people of Upper Canada were not right in taking a stand against the high Tory aggressions of the Legislative Council, and in making Sir Francis write his chapter on "the Hunted Hare."

What has often surprised us is, that the far-sighted politicians of England should not have foreseen the consequences of their absurd policy among such a population as that of Upper Canada. Vast numbers emigrated from Great Britain and Ireland to Canada, because they loved not the aristocratic institutions of their native land. They settled along the extensive frontier of the United States, and thus were having constant social and business intercourse with a people who repudiated in theory at least all such institutions. And was it to be expected that these settlers would quietly see planted in the midst of their adopted land the upas trees from which they had just fled? The outbreak of 1837-8, in Upper Canada, was injurious in many ways. It sent from the Province some of the staunchest advocates of popular rights, brought discredit upon the Liberal cause, greatly embittered party feeling, and strengthened the hands of the enemies of civil liberty and religious equality. Bidwell, now in New-York city, was one of the foremost reformers in talent, influence and virtue. It will be long ere his Christian urbanity and distinguished services will be forgotten by the Canadian lovers of true freedom. McKenzie, now in the same city, though a very different man, and guilty of very grievous errors, deserves to be mentioned for his fearless and persevering exposures of corruption. John Rolph, though now returned to Canada, has not yet regained the influence to which his lofty principles and great talents entitle him.

We should not wonder however to see this gentleman, in less than four years, the leading man in Upper Canada ; for the present leaders are evidently too conservative and timid to carry the reforms which the country demands. But the brief space allowed to such an article as the present, will not permit us to mention even the names of those who have done good service to the cause of reform in the Provinces, much less will it permit us to sketch their characters.

By the resolutions of 1841, a new Constitution was adopted for Upper, as well as for Lower Canada, and ampler provisions were made for the protection of the rights and privileges of the inhabitants. Now the colonists have absolutely the control of all their affairs, and if they are not well regulated, the people have only themselves to blame. The present instrument of government is modelled after the British Constitution, or "the three estates of the realm." There is a Governor, appointed by the Crown ; a Legislative Council, appointed also by the Crown ; and a Legislative Assembly, chosen by the people every four years. There is a Cabinet or Executive Council, composed of heads of departments, who are the responsible advisers of the Governor. These Cabinet ministers must be able to command a majority in the Legislature, else they cannot carry on the government. When the Governor wishes to form a ministry, he sends for one of the leading men, and tells him to fill up the departments of State, which is always done with an eye to their influence in Parliament. As soon as a member of Parliament accepts office he vacates his seat in the House, and must return to his constituency for re-election. This Cabinet is held responsible by the people for the whole practical working of the government ; and, as they must command the majority of the House, the people can soon make them sensible of their pleasure or resentment, through their representatives. Here then is ample power placed in the hands of the people. When they wish any measure carried, they have only to return members who hold principles in common with themselves. Should the Governor and his Cabinet disagree, he may dismiss them from office and appoint others. If these can command a majority for their measures in Parliament, the government goes on ; if not, then the Governor must either reconduct into office the discarded ministers, or appeal to the people, by calling for a new election. If the people sustain the ministers by returning their friends, then the Governor must either come to their terms or leave the country. Such is a brief exposition of responsible government,

as established in united Canada. It will be seen that the people really have all the power in their own hands, or rather, have a very strong and satisfactory check upon the Government of the colony. The real power is lodged (where it ought to be) in the Legislative Assembly elected periodically by the people. The Legislative Council is a mere cipher—a very respectable assembly of old ladies. It would be much better, so far as influence and character are concerned, to make this branch of the Legislature elective also. Some of the present agitators, especially in Canada East, are contending for this change. But this would conform the Legislature too nearly to the republican model, to which the English Government have a strong aversion. There are also local institutions of government which we regard as great safeguards of popular and rational liberty. We refer to county and township councils, established by an act which came into force at the commencement of the present year. The present act is only an alteration of some of the details of a similar act, which has existed for the last ten years. There is no country more perfectly free than Canada is now; and none where the people have more fully the control of their own affairs, if they choose honestly to exercise the power they possess. It is true there are yet existing in Western Canada many grievances; but the people have the full power, according to their present Constitution, to remove them, if they are only faithful to their own interests. All they require is to agree by a well understood majority as to what they desire, and they can have it. Neither annexation nor republicanism can do anything more for them. They would still be left to manage their own affairs, according to the wishes of the majority.

When the present Constitution of the Province was adopted, many seemed to dislike it: some because they hated its principles, and others because they did not comprehend its practical operations. But it has steadily grown in the affections of the people, notwithstanding the apparent disaffection at present manifested. It found general favor in Canada East, among the French Canadians. It gives them precisely what they have long desired, the power to rule by their overwhelming majority. And it is this very feature that is chiefly disliked by the British population of that section. French domination has been their constant terror for years, and now that it is constitutionally established they are likely to become insane. Annexation movements are chiefly confined to Lower Canada, and the British residents are the

chief agitators. Some French names are appended to the address or Circular with which we have headed our article, but they are comparatively of little weight. No one can misunderstand the feelings of the British population toward the French inhabitants, who will read the reported speeches delivered, both in and out of Parliament, a year ago. Other causes have contributed their share to the existing disaffection, but "French domination" is its well-spring in the bosom of those who speak the English language. It is not that these people love the United States more, but they love French domination less. Some, no doubt, have been influenced to join the Annexationists, from the hope of enjoying commercial advantages by the change of allegiance. The altered policy of England has materially affected most of the merchants whose names are annexed to the Circular. The withdrawal of the protective duties on colonial produce all but ruined the most wealthy exporters; and the commercial distress in England necessarily limited the credits usually given to the colonial importers. So that both the exporters and importers of Canada, with all connected with them, have severely suffered from the changes which have taken place in the policy and commercial affairs of England, within two or three years. These circumstances, combined with intense dislike of French rule, have given life and passion to the annexation movements.

The Upper Canadian Annexationists are scarcely worthy of notice. There are a few sincere men among them, who originally emigrated from the United States, but the majority consist of disappointed office-seekers, belonging to the ancient *régime*, and a few factious persons who wish to embarrass the Government. We have no doubt that the Protectionists in England and ship-owners have indirectly favored the movements of the disaffected in the Provinces, in the hope that all this clamor might induce England to restore her protective policy. Annexation would doubtless raise the price of wheat, of butter, of lumber, and of cattle in the colonies. It might cause some American capital to be expended on the internal improvements of the country, and in the establishment of manufactories. But then, to the farmers' unspeakable horror, it would nearly treble the amount of their taxes. This and the slavery question will be solid difficulties, which the most ardent Annexationists will be unable to remove for many years to come. And the despatch of Earl Grey proves, that though Great Britain would not probably "resist unto blood" the defection of her Canadian colonies, she will nevertheless throw every impediment but the sword in the road to annexation.

The religious condition of Canada East deserves a passing notice. There are very nearly 640,000 nominal Roman Catholics in Eastern Canada, of whom about 40,000 are from Ireland. The wealth of this sect, as a religious community, is very great. The estates of the Catholic Church, in Quebec and elsewhere, in the form of nunneries with their appendages, of seminaries and colleges with ample grounds in the very centre of the Canadian cities, and of colleges scattered over the country, are of immense value. The ecclesiastics of that sect in the city of Montreal alone have an annual income of £30,000. In the rural districts the curés can claim one twenty-sixth part of the produce of the lands, which gives to about 250 of them an average income of \$1,450 per annum. Some of the more prominent ecclesiastics receive a stipend also from Government. There are monastic institutions also, containing about 400 monks and nuns.

The Episcopal Church stands next in numbers and in wealth. This denomination has about 50,000 nominal adherents in Eastern Canada; but so little have they been accustomed to rely upon themselves for support, that a conscious weakness in this respect makes them hate the advocates of the voluntary principle bitterly. There are in the British North American Colonies about 250 Episcopal ministers. They receive yearly, from the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, £29,200, (we believe this sum has been slightly reduced lately,) and more than £7,200 from the Clergy Reserve funds. Of these ministers there are forty in Canada who are sustained by their congregations and local funds, and nineteen in Nova Scotia who are supported by annual grants from the Legislature. There remain 191 to be supported out of the £36,400 above mentioned. Thus it appears that the Episcopal Church in Canada is so weak and helpless, that, were the large sums received from abroad withdrawn, two thirds of the congregations would expire in less than a twelvemonth. Stiff Puseyism and High Churchism characterize the Episcopalians of the Provinces, almost universally.

Next to them in numbers and spiritual character are the Scotch Presbyterians of Canada East. The Methodists are next most numerous; afterwards the Baptists and the Congregationalists. We have not at this moment the means of specifying with much exactness the numbers of these and the remaining smaller sects in Lower Canada.

In Canada West the religious and educational statistics are in round numbers as follows :—Episcopalians, 160,000; Pres-

byterians, 150,000 ; Roman Catholics, 120,000 ; Methodists of all sects, 137,000 ; and Baptists, 30,000. The remainder of the population is composed of Lutherans, Independents, Quakers, Universalists, &c. In all these religious communities there is yet a great amount of friction and irritation arising from the very diversified elements of which they are composed. But time and sound instruction will remove these evils. Important advances have been made within a few years in common-school education throughout this section of the Province. The amount raised for common-school purposes in 1848 was \$406,022. During that year there were 2,800 schools in actual operation ; and of 241,102 children of a suitable age for attending school, 130,738 were in attendance. There were 537 schools of the first class, 1,216 of the second, and 1,017 of the third, called inferior. There were 116 new school-houses erected in that year. An excellent Normal School for the training of teachers is now in successful operation in the city of Toronto, so that ere long we hope to see reported a greater number of schools of the "first class." There are no difficulties, we are satisfied, in this part of the united Province, which time, with the present system of government, and a good common-school system, will not effectually remove. Though there is still considerable friction arising from the diversified tastes and habits of the people, yet every year assimilates them more and more to each other. The Englishman, the Irishman, and the Scotchman by degrees become better acquainted with the machine of government, and with the part each must take in it ; whilst by frequent intercourse they become better acquainted with each other, and gradually acquire the feeling that they have now one common interest and country. Especially will this be true of the rising generation, whatever may have been their origin, for they generally speak the same language, and are nominally Protestants in religion.

But the difficulties in Lower Canada are real and most perplexing. We see not how its permanent prosperity and peace *can* be secured, so long as the present differences in origin, language, religion, and intelligence exist. The priests well know that their language and religion mutually support each other, and that ignorance will help to perpetuate both. More than three fourths of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics, and not more than one in ten of the males can even read, nor do they seem to have any desire to learn ; nay, they rise up in open rebellion against the laws which are designed to facilitate the work of instruction. Though such a people

were annexed to Paradise, the country they inhabit or govern could neither be very happy nor very prosperous. Evils of this character cannot be removed by the magic of a name. Call a country an empire, an oligarchy, or a republic, still the *chief* sources of its prosperity and happiness would be the intelligence and virtue of the people.

The British portion of the population generally, and some of the French, are intelligent and enterprising; but if these are to be constantly fettered, hampered, and thwarted by the vast majority of a different character,—and the majority will rule, whether they remain as they are, or adopt the republican form of government,—we see not how they can prosper as they otherwise might, or develop the resources of their fine country. This appears to us one of Solomon's crooked things, "which cannot be made straight."

The means by which the French make their influence felt in united Canada, where the British population far outnumbers them, are these. The British inhabitants are divided into two great parties in politics, while the French always act together, and that party must predominate with which they unite. They thus hold the balance of power, and can make their own terms either with the Tories or the Liberals. The present union of the Provinces is more in name than in reality. Hence the French members say to the others, Do you make laws and do what you please in Upper Canada, and leave us to manage the affairs of our own section.

The truth is, that the whole structure of the political parties in Canada is anomalous and unnatural. There is scarcely any homogeneousness, nor are there common principles between the classes of which they are composed. The High Church Episcopalians, the Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, and the Orangemen, generally fight under the Tory banner. As for the Methodists, (the Episcopal Methodists excepted,) they range their forces, like Lord Stanley at the battle of Bosworth, so that they can join the winning party, who will be likely to pay them best. Then under the Liberal banner are ranged those usually known as Dissenters in Great Britain, with the great majority of the Roman Catholics. Those who have given most attention to these subjects, have long been expecting that some events would occur which would dissolve the present parties, and reconstruct them upon a more natural, and consequently a more permanent basis. The Catholics and High Churchmen should be together; for their religion, their policy and tastes really resemble each other. Then the Liberals and

the Orangemen would be on the same side. And we are inclined to think that the present agitation will go far towards producing these results. It is certain that the old parties are greatly shattered at present, and new ones appear to be springing up, whose character cannot yet be accurately defined. We are quite confident that the present movements in the Provinces will lead to important changes in the commercial relations and policy of Canada; but that they will lead to annexation we think very doubtful, even were the Canadians the only parties to be consulted in the transaction.

We had designed, before closing our remarks, to enter somewhat at large into the commercial affairs of Canada, and to have called attention to the important services rendered to the cause of freedom in the Canadas by the Baptist denomination; but our remarks have already extended themselves beyond the limits we had prescribed for ourselves. In closing, we beg leave to assure our Canadian neighbors that we wish them all prosperity; but we cannot help thinking that, should they devote their energies to the promotion of sound common-school education, and to the internal improvement of their country, they would be more likely to attain true happiness and prosperity as a nation, than if they continue to agitate for annexation till the day of their death.

ART. II.—RECENT AMERICAN HISTORIES.

GRAHAME'S *Colonial History of the United States*. Second edition, enlarged and amended. In two vols. 8vo. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard.

BANCROFT'S *History of the Colonization of the United States*. In three vols. 8vo. Boston: Little & Brown.

HILDRETH'S *History of the United States, from the Discovery of the Continent to the Organization of the Government under the Federal Constitution*. In three vols. 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

IN a former paper* we have traced the discovery of this Western Continent by Columbus and his successors, and the conquest and settlement of the southern portion of North America by Cortes and his resolute band of Spanish adven-

* Christian Review for 1849, pp. 610-625.

turers. A comparison between the subjugation of Mexico, the planting of the civilization of Europe on its broad and fertile plains, with the later colonization of the present United States, furnishes more points of contrast and dissimilarity than of resemblance. The prompting motive, the method of accomplishment, and the results hitherto witnessed, have all been widely different.

With truthful vividness and energetic brevity and condensation, Mr. Bancroft thus depicts the ruling passions of the former: "Extraordinary success had kindled in the Spanish nation an equally extraordinary enthusiasm. No sooner had the New World revealed itself to their enterprise, than the valiant men, who had won laurels under Ferdinand among the mountains of Andalusia, sought a new career of glory in more remote adventures. The passions of avarice and zeal were strangely blended; and the heroes of Spain sailed to the West, as if they had been bound on a new crusade, where infinite wealth was to reward their piety. America was the region of romance, where the heated imagination could indulge in the boldest delusions; where the simple natives ignorantly wore the most precious ornaments; and, by the side of the clear runs of water, the sands sparkled with gold. What way soever the Spaniards are called—says the historian of the ocean—with a beck only or a whispering voice, to anything rising above water, they speedily prepare themselves to fly, and forsake certainties under the hope of more brilliant success. To carve out provinces with the sword; to divide the spoils of empires; to plunder the accumulated treasures of some ancient Indian dynasty; to return from a roving expedition with a crowd of enslaved captives and a profusion of spoils,—soon became the ordinary dreams in which the excited minds of the Spaniards delighted to indulge. Ease, fortune, life, all were squandered in the pursuit of a game, where, if the issue was uncertain, success was sometimes obtained, greater than the boldest imagination had dared to anticipate. Is it strange that these adventurers were often superstitious? The New World and its wealth were in themselves so wonderful, that why should credit be withheld from the wildest fictions? Why should not the hope be indulged, that the laws of nature themselves would yield to the desires of men so fortunate and so brave? Nature was here to discover the secrets for which alchemy had toiled in vain; and the elixir of life was to flow from a perpetual fountain of the New World, in the midst of a country glittering with gems and gold." Now contrast with this hybrid

compound of ambition and avarice, of the blindness of zealot furor and the wildness of superstitious credulity, on the part of the Spaniards, the sober, calm, self-renouncing spirit which prompted the Puritans of England to seek, for themselves and posterity, on these rude and inhospitable shores, freedom to worship God,—and you have the impellent motives of both these classes of adventurers.

The manner in which each sought to accomplish their respective purposes was equally dissimilar. The one relied on craft and force, on wily dissimulation or martial prowess, to make the simple-minded natives their supple coadjutors or menial slaves, in effecting their own purposes of universal domination. The others for the most part, and with some few painful exceptions, seemed disposed from the outset to act on principles of justice, of moderation and good-will towards the aborigines. They purchased of the Indians, for what the latter deemed a satisfactory equivalent, the right of soil, entered into treaties of amity and commerce with their tribes, introduced among them the knowledge if not the practice of the arts; and only after the most provoking experience of their savage treachery, their murderous and diabolical dispositions, did they execute upon them the retribution which their crimes merited. And even here, one cannot but notice the humanity and pious benevolence which drew from Robinson at Leyden the exclamation, on hearing of the first execution of some of the Indians who had plotted the destruction of the infant colony of Plymouth: "Oh, how happy a thing had it been, that you had converted some, before you killed any!" Hence it was that our pilgrim fathers sought not the towns and populous settlements of the natives, but contented themselves with such unoccupied territories as the mutual wars and a recent sweeping pestilence among the Indians had left vacant. A greater difference still, if possible, was observable in the internal arrangements. The Spaniards seem always to have been governed by military leaders; while the New-England adventurers especially—and the same is true, though to a less extent, in the other colonies—were self-governed republics even from their inception, where the germs of family, and church, and municipal governments, needed only to be expanded to the larger magnitude of the State, and where each of the former had been a successful apprenticeship for the latter. Hence the aids which the Bible, everywhere diffused, read, interpreted, and applied by each individual for his own government, evidently had contributed to fit the one of these

communities for progress and expansion; and the loss which the other had experienced by the want of these influences.

Nor need many words be used to indicate the immense difference in result between the two experiments. The best illustration here is found in looking on the present condition of the colonies planted by Spain in this Western Hemisphere, and those planted by the Protestant emigrants from the different States of Europe, but chiefly from Great Britain, at a subsequent period. The civilization, the wealth, the maritime enterprise of the former were rather superior, at the outstart, to those of the latter. But the one difference of religion and its correlative accompaniments are adequate to account for the vast disparity of the former, as compared with the latter, in the results realized. The Catholic, refused in the highest interests of his being the exercise of individual judgment, and made to bow obsequiously to the dictation of erring human beings like himself, is in all his training unfitted to become a constituent portion of a free, self-governed republic. The results of various experiments in former ages and in our own times, in both the Old World and the New, have abundantly confirmed what the very nature of the case to every reflecting mind would thus indicate.

These prefatory suggestions, naturally growing out of the comparative view of various portions of American history, may have the farther benefit of enhancing the interest with which the student sits down to an examination of his country's annals. A more thorough and radical exploration of all the elements which have entered into and largely modified our progress hitherto, may well be warranted, since the development is so unique and satisfactory. For this reason, as well as others hereafter to be noticed, the somewhat unusual practice of bringing together the three historical treatises, noted at the head of this article, may be not only tolerated, but approved. For an investigation of such magnitude, we need all the advantage which can be derived from the labors of those occupying different positions, some more and others less remote, and accordingly affected variously by the light in which they viewed the events and characters which they have alike undertaken to delineate. All of these writers seem to have felt the ennobling, inspiriting influence of their common theme; and as they are not rivals, but each has deliberately chosen his own particular province, and each prides himself not unnaturally on the peculiar phase of our history which he has undertaken most fully to exhibit, it may reasonably be expected, that the full results of their

several contributions will be more satisfactory, from the very diversity of the methods by which they have been reached.

James Grahame, the author of the first named history, was a Scotchman, born towards the close of the last century; and under the training of a generous-minded father was early imbued with favor towards the free institutions and flourishing States of our young Republic. A barrister by profession, but a literary student and investigator by cordial preference, as well as early devotement, for nearly twenty years he seems to have made the composition and revision of this history a labor of love and of duty. Undoubtedly his position furnished him some rare facilities of investigation; while at the same time he could not but be subjected to more than counterbalancing infelicities, for which ample allowance should be made. The rich historical treasures to which he enjoyed free access, not only in London, but at Gottingen and Paris, together with a happy exemption from the liability of being unduly influenced by too close contact with persons or parties, with interests or honors which might blind or sway his mind, formed perhaps the chief elements of his advantage; while on the *per contra* side of the account must be reckoned the want of that intimate acquaintance, which nothing so well as daily familiarity with scenes, events, and institutions he was to portray, can supply. There is another disadvantage under which the mind of our author evidently labored, which it may be more difficult fully to appreciate or adequately explain; but which nevertheless will be obvious to those who most carefully investigate the texture of this history. Mr. Grahame was an eminently religious and conscientious man, cordially attached to the Scottish Presbyterians and Covenanters, (whose peculiarities and excellences he defended against the literary Corypheus of the North, Sir Walter Scott, whose endeavor to hold them up to contempt and ridicule, in his "Tales of my Landlord," might reasonably have provoked a less zealous partisan;) and he seems not unnaturally to have conceived the highest opinion of the excellence of those religionists in our country, who are most fully assimilated in creed and practice to his favorites. Had he been a resident among us, he could scarcely have failed to modify and correct his somewhat too exalted estimate of those religious leaders who figured so conspicuously in Church and State, in the early days of our colonial history; so as, while on the one hand giving all due praise to their many and sterling excellences, he would, on the other hand, have fairly discriminated, and made ampler allowance for the

misguiding influence of their no less positive imperfections. To this result all candid minds among us seem to have finally been brought;* nor is it to be doubted that our author, if mingling freely with those most favorably circumstanced for reaching a correct result, would have been led to similar conclusions. As a clear, striking, melancholy instance of the perversion thus produced on a mind usually fair and impartial, may be mentioned his treatment of Rhode Island, of its illustrious founder Roger Williams, and of his noble associate and coadjutor John Clark. The attempt to blacken the character of the latter—for having, in the prosecution of his successful endeavor to obtain from King Charles II. the liberal charter of Rhode Island, which Massachusetts, in the spirit of aggression too commonly evinced towards this neighbor in particular, was endeavoring to prevent, given back some of the blows which had so often been levelled at those he represented—has recoiled with a just severity; and we cannot regret that the author of this slanderous “invention” has been made to wince under the infliction of a merited castigation. As to the plentiful repetitions in this history of the now nearly obsolete misrepresentations of Williams,—drawn, as we all know they were, only from the statements of the men (his brother ministers in most instances) who were the active procuring cause of his banishment, and who, in accordance with a nearly universal law of our nature, that we rarely forgive one whom we have wantonly injured, seemed impelled to the last to endeavor to blacken his character, that they might justify their abuse of him,—time and a returning sense of justice well nigh universal, make them comparatively harmless. Some of us can well remember how common it was, in the last generation even, for the successors in spirit as well as in name of Cotton and Mather to try to heap all manner of opprobrium on Rhode Island. That a Scotch sympathizer with their orthodoxy should have sometimes believed these unfounded statements in her dispraise, is less strange than lamentable. It is the very evil of his position which we have above indicated, and cannot fail to deplore. Most happily a different spirit is now generally prevalent among all classes.

We are happy to see that Mr. Grahame has learned to dis-

* The North American Review for October last thus sums up the truthful verdict: “The virtues of the Puritan settlers of New-England were, indomitable courage, patience, fortitude, self-denial, generosity, extreme purity of morals, piety, energy, and singleness of purpose almost superhuman,—virtues many and colossal. Their vices, few but formidable, were intolerance, cruelty, tyranny, and bigotry.”

criminate between the more tolerant disposition of the Plymouth Colony, and the rancorous persecutions so fiercely carried on and so long continued by Massachusetts. He notices one of the reasons of this difference. But there are three obvious reasons, which on some future opportunity we may take occasion to develop more fully, because they do not as yet seem to have secured the consideration which they deserve. In the first place, there were, as Mr. Bancroft has explained, two classes of Puritans who emigrated to this country: the thorough, practical nonconformists, sometimes called Brownists; and the timid, irresolute, half-hearted, who, up to the period of their leaving England, had lived in full communion with the Established Church, many of whose practices were unwelcome to them. The former endured severe persecutions in England, of which the latter had no experience. For this reason they might naturally be expected to be more tolerant, who remembered the smart of their own scourgings. Then, in the second place—as noticed by the author now under consideration—these persecuted and *real* nonconformists had fled to Holland, and enjoyed “the advantage of an intermediate residence in a land where a peaceful co-existence of different sects was demonstrated to be not merely practicable, but signally promotive of the most excellent graces of Christian character.” Then, in the third place, it deserves notice that a very different position was held by the Plymouth settlers,—coming to this country without any charter from the King, and dependent, like a Scriptural church organization, on the voluntary assent of the parties for that constitution, or compact of self-government, under which they lived,—from that of their neighbors of Massachusetts Bay, who assumed to rule by a divine right, derived in due and regular succession from their monarch’s grant. All three of these elements combined, as the result shows, to make the colony at Plymouth far more tolerant than its more lordly and very soon overshadowing and patronizing neighbor. Indeed, until “the Bay” had infused the bad leaven of an intermeddling and persecuting spirit into the counsels of her older but weaker sister, there was no evidence of its existence in the latter.

One cannot but regret that in this history, as in many others of high pretensions, there is an utter failure to discriminate between the partial *toleration* attempted with some few interruptions by the colony of Maryland, and the untarnished manifestation of *soul-liberty* first illustrated, in modern times at least, in the government of Rhode Island. In the attempt to

transfer this honor, so justly and obviously due to the earlier establishment of this great principle, before Maryland had made any advances in that direction, we think is plainly discernible the unworthy efforts of the somewhat distinguished Mr. Walsh, one of the author's intimate and admired American friends, who on other occasions has put forth this and similar pretensions for the Catholic Church, of which he is a more zealous than discreet adherent, as well as official advocate. The use recently made by him of his position as Consul of the United States at Paris, to eulogize the efforts (too successful, alas !) of republican France to crush the infant republic of Rome, showed too plainly to be misunderstood how much more potent were his ecclesiastical affinities, than the obligations imposed on him as the representative of freedom.

In a better and worthier spirit are the notices of the establishment of Pennsylvania, and the entire development of the policy and practice of its peace-loving and treaty-keeping Quakers. The advocates of the cause of universal peace love to appeal to this and kindred specimens of non-resistance, to show how safe, even when dealing with fierce savages, are the Gospel principles of love and kindness, instead of a reliance on carnal weapons. Whatever animosity the Indians might conceive against the European neighbors of the Pennsylvanians, they never failed to discriminate the followers of Penn, or *children of Onas*, (the name they gave to the Quakers,) as persons whom it was impossible for them to fight or injure.

We cannot pass from these full and elaborate volumes of Grahame without renewing the general commendation already indicated, of the industry and success with which he has spread before the public by far the best account which any foreigner has ever given of our colonial history. Let his name be adorned with the laurels he has so fairly won, as the foreign religious historian of the planting of these States.

For obvious reasons we shall give but brief space in this connection to the volumes of Mr. Bancroft; partly because they have already made way for themselves so widely to the perusal and commendation of our countrymen; and more especially because the announcement of the speedy appearance of an additional volume or volumes, which for years has been waited for with so fond an impatience, promises a fitting occasion for more ample consideration of his rare merits. As the philosophical historian of our country, he seems to have reached an eminence truly enviable; and if

he continues and completes his great undertaking in a spirit as praiseworthy as has been evinced in the portion already before the public, he will entitle himself to the lasting gratitude as well as the high admiration of his countrymen. May he be preserved from mingling the perverting biases of a political partisan, with the great work to which his best years of life may worthily be devoted!

In many respects his volumes already published, which cover the same field with those of the Scottish author above considered, compare most favorably with them. He has indeed many and great advantages over him. The very least of these may be, that he is his successor; and reviewing his whole field and the tracks which had thus been made through it, he could more readily avoid any obliquities into which the one going before had been led. Then again, he is entirely *at home*, where the other is a stranger. His investigations, if not more extensive, have been sifted and scrutinized with a discrimination more rigid and more just. His mind too is evidently of a far higher order, having powers of generalization, and a faculty of condensing within narrower compass the results of a wide and thorough inspection. His style also is not without advantage, in the briskness of its movements,—the curt, crisp alternations with which so constantly it abounds. The tendency to frequent antithesis, and to an air of ambitious smartness, has indeed its dangers and disadvantages; but on the whole, where properly guarded against its own misleading proclivities,—the sacrifice of truth to the mere brilliancy of its encasement,—it has obvious felicities in the lively attention which it perpetually awakens and rewards. We cannot doubt that after an interval of ten years, since his last volume appeared, and the abundant opportunities of improvement with which Divine Providence has favored him, in the high places of the earth both at home and abroad, he will be able to furnish some marked improvement, so far as manner is concerned, on his former achievements. The brilliant success of another retired cabinet minister from the Court near which Mr. Bancroft has recently resided as an honored plenipotentiary, in this same department of literary labor, cannot but cheer and stimulate him.

It is not a little gratifying to observe, that in every one of the instances of faultiness which grieved if not vexed us, in the history of Mr. Grahame, our own historian has put right what the former had left wrong. This is altogether the more satisfactory because of his position and relations. An honored citizen of Massachusetts, the son of one of its venerable

Puritan clergymen, he can yet do ample justice to the merits of Rhode Island, and its banished, persecuted founders. The signal praise is certainly due to Mr. Bancroft, of having, by original and thorough investigation, removed the aspersions which for two centuries had been too generally repeated from the contemporary, partisan defamers of Williams and Clark, and their humble province. It required indeed but common candor and thoroughness of investigation to effect this. For where else was it ever deemed consistent to take the prejudiced statement of embittered and mortified antagonists, as the true exponent of their rivals' character? Yet it had been only the repetition of these representations, from a source so biased and untrustworthy, that had tended to perpetuate the obloquy on this little State and its noble-hearted founders. Her sons had indeed prepared the way for the reversal of so unworthy a judgment, by an accumulation of rebutting evidence not easily passed over; and it may now be reasonably hoped that, in all future time, we shall hear no more of the *stubborn, illiberal, and passionate* character of Roger Williams, venting a medley of notions *boldly opposed to the constitution of civil society*; himself so pragmatical as to *withdraw from the society of his wife and that of his children*. All this Mr. Grahame, relying on his misleading authorities, had repeated; and all this, with much more of the same kind, Mr. Bancroft has shown to be not only baseless, but the very opposite of the well-established truth of the case. He furnishes also a complete reversal of the injurious imputation, that Rhode Island under her charter disfranchised the Catholics, and persecuted the Quakers. Since what has now been brought to light on this subject, no truthful historian will repeat these slanders.

We have called our Honorable diplomatist the philosophical historian of his country. Take as a brief illustration the following racy sketch of the influence of *John Calvin* on this country, with some similar cases prefixed to it:—

Who will venture to measure the consequence of actions by the apparent humility or the remoteness of their origin? The mysterious influence of that Power which enchains the destinies of States, overruling the decisions of sovereigns and the forethought of statesmen, often deduces the greatest events from the least commanding causes. A Genoese adventurer, discovering America, changed the commerce of the world; an obscure German, inventing the printing-press, rendered possible the universal diffusion of increased intelligence; an Augustine monk, denouncing indulgences, introduced a schism in religion, and changed the foundations of European politics; a young French refugee, skilled alike in theology and civil law, in the duties of magistrates and the dialectics of

religious controversy, entering the republic of Geneva, and conforming its ecclesiastical discipline to the principles of republican simplicity, established a party, of which Englishmen became members, and New-England the asylum. The enfranchisement of the mind from religious despotism led directly to inquiries into the nature of civil government; and the doctrines of popular liberty, which sheltered their infancy in the wildernesses of the newly-discovered continent, within the short space of two centuries, have infused themselves into the life-blood of every rising State from Labrador to Chili, have erected outposts on the Oregon and in Liberia, and, making a proselyte of enlightened France, have disturbed all the ancient governments of Europe, by awakening the public mind to resistless action, from the shores of Portugal to the palace of the Czars.

Of brilliant yet truthful antithesis, the following instance may suffice as a specimen :—

Historians have loved to eulogize the manners and virtues, the glory and the benefits of chivalry. Puritanism accomplished for mankind far more. If it had the sectarian crime of intolerance, chivalry had the vices of dissoluteness. The knights were brave from gallantry of spirit; the Puritans from the fear of God. The knights were proud of loyalty; the Puritans, of liberty. The knights did homage to monarchs, in whose smile they beheld honor, whose rebuke was the wound of disgrace; the Puritans, disdaining ceremony, would not bow at the name of Jesus, nor bend the knee but to the King of kings. Chivalry delighted in outward show, favored pleasure, multiplied amusements, and degraded the human race by an exclusive respect for the privileged classes; Puritanism bridled the passions, commended the virtues of self-denial, and rescued the name of man from dishonor. The former valued courtesy; the latter, justice. The former adorned society by graceful refinements; the latter founded national grandeur on universal education. The institutions of chivalry were subverted by the gradually increasing weight, and knowledge, and opulence of the industrious classes; the Puritans, rallying upon those classes, planted in their hearts the undying principle of democratic liberty.

Of graphic picturesqueness, heightened by contrast, we give an instance which occurs in the closing paragraph of the third volume, where he for the first time alludes to the youthful Washington. We cannot doubt that in the forthcoming volumes many similar instances of scenic vividness will brighten his pages. The time has gone by, when historic fidelity can only consist with plodding dullness :—

Thus, after long years of strife, of repose, and of strife renewed, England and France solemnly agreed to be at peace. The treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle had been negotiated by the ablest statesmen of Europe, in the splendid forms of monarchical diplomacy. They believed themselves the arbiters of mankind, the pacificators of the world,—reconstructing the colonial system on a basis which should endure for ages,—confirming the peace of Europe by the nice adjustment of material forces. At the very time of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the woods of Virginia sheltered the youthful George Washington, the son of a widow. Born by the side of the Potomac, beneath the roof of a Westmoreland farmer,

almost from infancy his lot had been the lot of an orphan. No academy had welcomed him to its shades, no college crowned him with its honors: to read, to write, to cipher,—these had been his degrees in knowledge. And now, at sixteen years of age, in quest of an honest maintenance, encountering intolerable toil; cheered onward by being able to write to a school-boy friend, “Dear Richard, a doubloon is my constant gain every day, and sometimes six pistoles;” “himself his own cook, having no spit but a forked stick, no plate but a large chip;” roaming over spurs of the Alleghanies, and along the banks of the Shenandoah; alive to nature, and sometimes “spending the best of the day in admiring the trees and richness of the land;” among skin-clad savages, with their scalps and rattles, or uncouth emigrants “that never would speak English;” rarely sleeping in a bed; holding a bearskin a splendid couch; glad of a resting-place for the night upon a little hay, straw, or fodder, and often camping in the forests, where the place nearest the fire was a happy luxury;—this stripling surveyor in the woods, with no companion but his unlettered associates, and no implements of science but his compass and chain, contrasted strangely with the imperial magnificence of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. And yet God had selected, not Kaunitz, nor Newcastle, not a monarch of the house of Hapsburg, nor of Hanover, but the Virginia stripling, to give an impulse to human affairs; and, as far as events can depend on an individual, had placed the rights and the destinies of countless millions in the keeping of the widow’s son.

There remain for our proposed notice only the beautiful and fresh volumes, just issued from the press, of Hildreth’s History. He is a new candidate for public favor, and his is a name hitherto quite unknown among our chroniclers, the Prescotts and Irvings, the Sparkses, and Goodriches, and Bancrofts, of whom our young country is so justly proud. Is he worthy of introduction among the magnates who have earned so enviable a distinction? This question is involuntarily suggested on the first appearance of such a candidate for this high honor; nor is our disposition to scrutinize his claims at all lessened by the brusque air of defiance with which, in a brief preface to these volumes, he makes his first bow, or rather, without any graceful “with your leave,” thrusts himself forward, and elbows off all competitors from the stage, as unworthy of the position to which they had been promoted.

Thus run the first sentences of his somewhat ominous Advertisement:—

Of centennial sermons and Fourth of July orations, whether professedly such or in the guise of history, there are more than enough. It is due to our fathers and ourselves, it is due to truth and philosophy, to present for once, on the historic stage, the founders of our American nation unbedaubed with patriotic rouge, wrapped up in no fine-spun cloaks of excuses and apology, without stilts, buskins, tinsel or bedizenment, in their own proper persons, often rude, hard, narrow, superstitious, and mistaken, but always earnest, downright, manly, and sincere. The result of their labors is eulogy enough; their best apology is to tell their story exactly as it was.

Now who can wonder that such an introduction—and there is much more of the same sort, as depreciating of others' as commendatory of his own work—should have predisposed those who give both tone and tinge to public sentiment among us, to regard unfavorably this exclusive pretender to superior excellence? Indeed, if we mistake not, some of the individuals above named, as among the most distinguished in this field of literary enterprise, have inquired somewhat sneeringly, "Who is this stripling aspirant for our places and more than our honors?" Such a question the elder brethren of David, more martial than he in appearance, more experienced than he in war, evidently had in their hearts, when they put to him the query, "Why camest thou down hither? and with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness?"

But who is he, and how far is his vaunting made good? These are practical and pertinent questions; they deserve to be, and must be answered. Our inquiries on the first have barely sufficed to inform us, that a few years since, Mr. Hildreth made himself favorably known to the public, as one of the founders and laborious editors of a large daily journal in the metropolis of New-England; that he brought to the severe and varied requisition of such a post an amount of industry, fidelity, discrimination, energy, promptness, and tact, which gave the happiest presages of a brilliant and successful career. Like many others in similar situations, impelled by the goadings of a laudable ambition, to put forth efforts beyond the power of his physical frame to endure, he nearly broke down his health, and for its recovery was for several consecutive years self-exiled to the comparative solitude of one of the little islets on the borders of the Caribbean sea, where health-bearing breezes and perpetual verdure favored his gradual convalescence. There, in these years of sequestration, his ever active mind was devoted to the consummation of a project, whose inception dates back to his college days. It is said that with his own hand he thrice transcribed the entire history; and furthermore, the secret has leaked out from the composers' room, that *the copy* furnished for their use was so abundantly covered over by erasures and interlineations, as almost to defy the powers of deciphering. The author claims "to have had continual recourse to the original authorities, particularly laws, state papers, public documents, and official records, printed and manuscript. Free use has also been made of the numerous valuable collections of letters and memoirs relating especially to the Revolution, published within the last twenty-five years."

All this is well, and plainly shows that however he may be repudiated for not having proved Saul's armor, he has learned by vigorous and long continued use to wield his sling and to choose his pebbles from the brook. We are glad to learn, certainly, that he is not one of those vaulting, native-born geniuses, who, without labor and care, think they can leap up and seize success by unpractised intuition. He does not claim to have come forth, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, full armed, invulnerable, and always victorious.

But of the work itself,—what does the execution of this high purpose indicate? Several things will pretty easily be discerned from the most cursory inspection of the volumes. It will readily be seen that the writer is no rival of Macaulay, that prince of graphic delineators of the moving, active scenes through which he leads the enamored student, and recalls the veteran statesman's and warrior's interest, by rehearsals which bring back as living realities the events of the shadowy past. Whether our author has any such power—who can tell? He never fails in such attempts, for he never ventures upon them. This is not his design. Nor does he more aspire to the philosophy of history,—to draw from seminal truths, deep underlying the lofty stems which spring from them, the embryo power which develops vast results. He does not seem to grasp or much inquire for primal principles, nor reach after extensive generalizations. Nor any more does he seek to throw himself into the current of events which he is narrating, so as to move and breathe, to act and feel in sympathy with or in opposition to the various personages whose deeds he chronicles. He does not, with Gibbon, affect to sneer at what most deeply interests the masses through which he moves so noiselessly; nor like the North American Indian does he force his nature into an imperturbable indifference and non-admiration of what is adapted to excite wonder. He is not self-oblivious, in the engrossment of an interest which absorbs into itself all thought and feeling. No; the simple solution of his impassive state seems to be that he, the living, thinking, feeling author, is not personally present. By a kind of daguerrean process, he has so caused the personages and acts to pass before his lens, that they record themselves without human instrumentality; of course without the possibility of flattery or dispraise. The events and actors transfer what of still life can be caught from the momentary glimpse of their passing the station, and then others crowd them out of view. In fine this work of Mr. Hildreth, when compared with the two others we are considering in connection with it, is not, like the first,

the production of a religious historian, deeply imbued with reverence, and sensitively alive to whatever has been the result of a religious prompting. Nor is it, like the other, interpenetrated with philosophical acumen, and profound disquisitions. It has not its merits of a vivacious style, and shows no ambitious soarings. But it is—to deal no longer in negatives—a book of annals,—the annals of the planting, progress, and independence of these American States, terminated by a like record of the formation of the present Federal Constitution. The inquirer who takes up these volumes to find this, just this and nothing more, will not be disappointed. If read for another purpose, and judged by other rules, the failure should not be attributed to the author.

Now what are the elements which we have a right to demand in a book of annals? They seem to us chiefly and emphatically these three: a lucid record; an impartial, fully authorized statement; and a well considered, thoroughly digested order, which shall exhibit itself in an arrangement so methodical, accurate, harmonious, as never to confuse and bewilder, but perpetually to lead us onward, without the involution of labyrinths, or the misty obscurity of the awfully profound. The first will give clearness of apprehension; the second will inspire full confidence; the last will assist each reader to draw his own safe conclusions, and moreover will vastly aid the memory in the retention of that which has, in proper order, been presented to the mind. This last may also become by its perfection a positive beauty and excellence, attractive in no small degree, to those already appreciating the importance of the topics which are thus laid before them. Such, if we may safely confide in the effects which the perusal of this work has produced, is the completeness of arrangement which our author has attained, as to leave nothing further in this respect to be desired. His style is also remarkably clear. We do not recollect a single instance in the three volumes of a sentence needing to be re-perused, in order to its full understanding. There are none of the marks of haste, of a slovenly composition, of redundant epithets, or the oft recurrence of similar words, to offend the ear, which mar many otherwise beautiful pages of higher literary pretensions than these. Nor do we see ground for charging partiality, or a perverting bias, upon the author. Whatever are his own personal opinions on the important topics which pass successively under his view, he rarely intimates, and never needlessly obtrudes them. The very nature of his office, as a simple annalist, seems to preclude all dogmatism on his part; nor has he attempted it.

It would gratify us to be able to speak as decisively and favorably of the extent and thoroughness of his researches into all the available authorities, on which full reliance can be placed. But here we confess that we have been impelled to doubt. It does not seem to us, from any examination which we can make, that he has at all exceeded his contemporaries and predecessors—we fear he has fallen behind some of them—in the discrimination and thoroughness of his investigations into the sources of information which lie least patent to the public eye. It would be easy to justify this opinion by numerous instances; but we are not in the mood at present for exhibiting such minute details. Besides, if we mistake not, some of his fellow-laborers in the same great field, sharpened for this service perhaps by the nature and magnitude of his pretensions, are preparing to bring him to a strict account in this respect, which effort we are not ambitious to anticipate. The author's method of lumping his authorities, in the end of the work, without the slightest clew given for disintegrating them, so as to apply each to the sustentation of the particular portion of his work which it would corroborate, is certainly most unfortunate. What if the authorities in a treatise of law or divinity, or any other important subject, were thus presented? Or to set this case in a somewhat stronger light,—what if a legal advocate were to demand a verdict on handing in a mere list of the names of his witnesses? The farcical character of such a procedure would well illustrate the utter inconclusiveness of this method of presenting historical authorities. The fifteen closely printed pages which here contain the names of these valuable works, are for all practical utility worth just as little in this connection, as a like number of pages of any catalogue of books on the same subject, taken at random from the well arranged libraries of our best furnished Universities. Mr. Hildreth or his distinguished publishers certainly owe it to the public to cancel those pages, and supply their place with references, for each chapter at least, by itself, of such authorities as will sustain its averments. The plea set forth in the Advertisement, that such a parade of authorities on each page, as is usual in similar works, would either distract the reader's attention, or increase the size and cost of the book unduly, is puerile in the extreme.

But we gladly turn to more welcome views of this noble work,—for such we certainly esteem it. Short as has been the time we have possessed it, we have already come to regard it as quite essential for frequent use and reference; nor can we doubt that when some slight blemishes which we

have indicated shall be removed, it will take its place, and maintain a high standing in all our best libraries. The religious portion of the community may reasonably regret that a more distinct recognition of God's hand in our planting and progress is not here observable; nor will they fail to notice a seeming or real ignorance of some not over-nice religious distinctions, which was scarcely to be expected in a liberally educated New-Englander. But when all these drawbacks are allowed, enough of sterling excellence will remain in these volumes to make them standing favorites with the public. Where else will you look for a condensation into so narrow compass of a coherent, symmetrical, and admirably arranged narrative of the principal events of permanent interest, from the first discovery of this portion of the North American Continent by the Cabots, more than 350 years since, through all the varied fortunes of the colonies here planted, their progress, their union, their successful effort for independence, and their still more difficult task of cementing their harmonious federation, under the Constitution which has already yielded fruits so precious and abundant?

From the ineffectual attempts of French Huguenots to form a settlement in Florida and the Carolinas, nearly three hundred years ago, and which was the earliest colonization of Europeans within the present ample limits of the United States, this history traces the successive efforts in Virginia, New-Netherlands, (now New-York,) and the more strictly religious enterprise of the pilgrim-planting of the several New-England colonies. Then followed, in rapid succession, Maryland with its Catholics, New-Sweden, (now Delaware,) and Pennsylvania with its peace-loving Quakers. The various training of prosperous and adverse influences which more and more assimilated these colonies to each other, and prepared the way for the heroic struggle which secured their independence, is all sketched before us, with a proper regard to the laws of the mind's clear perspective. Nor are we less satisfied with these annals of the war of the Revolution. They do not cater to the morbid relish for the disgusting details of battles, and will add little fuel to the always too easily kindled enthusiasm for "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war." Perhaps the extended story of this national contest has never before been given with so much accurate generality, and at the same time with so little to vitiate and pollute the public mind. We particularly beg leave to call the attention of those who object to Hildreth, his lack of generous religious enthusiasm, to the fact that his martial fervor is as little exhibited.

The chapter on the formation of the present Federal Constitution is one of great interest. The miserable state of collapse and imbecility into which the States all fell, when the external pressure of the war was first removed, is briefly stated; the measures which led to the call of the Convention for amending the old platform of Confederation, are summarily noticed; and the Convention itself, with some of its difficulties and debates and compromises, very interestingly occupy the remaining pages of a portion of the book, which deserve to be made more familiar by reiterated study. We give a few specimens only.

Eleven States were soon represented by about fifty delegates from among the most illustrious citizens of the States—men highly distinguished for talents, character, practical knowledge, and public services.

The Convention, as a whole, represented in a marked manner the talent, intelligence, and especially the conservative sentiment of the country. The Democracy had no representatives, except as far as the universal American sentiment was imbued, to a certain degree, with the democratic spirit. Jefferson, the ablest and most enthusiastic defender of the capacity of the people for self-government, was absent in Europe, and that theory, of late, had been thrown a little into the shade by the existing condition of affairs, both State and national. The public creditors especially demanded some authority able to make the people pay; and among a certain class, even monarchy began to be whispered of as a remedy for popular mal-administration.

As the Convention had met on the invitation of Virginia, it seemed to belong to the delegates of that State to give a start to the proceedings. Accordingly, Governor Randolph, at the request of his colleagues, opened the business in a set speech on the inefficiency of the Confederation; after which he offered fifteen resolutions suggesting amendments to the existing federal system. These resolutions proposed a national Legislature, to consist of two branches, the members of the first branch to be chosen by the people, and to be apportioned to the States in the ratio of free population or taxes; those of the second branch to be selected by the first branch, out of candidates nominated by the State Legislatures. A separate national executive was proposed, to be chosen by the national Legislature; also a national judiciary; and a council of revision, to consist of the executive and a part of the judiciary, with a qualified negative on every act of legislation, State as well as national. These resolutions of Randolph's, known as the "Virginia plan," were referred to a committee of the whole, as was a sketch submitted by Charles Pinckney, which, in its form and arrangement, seems to have furnished the outline of the Constitution as ultimately adopted. That, however, which is printed as Pinckney's sketch, contains many things which could hardly have been found in the original draft—interpolations, probably, from the subsequent proceedings of the Convention.

The far-reaching sagacity of Franklin thus anticipated one class of evils to which experience has proved we are greatly exposed :—

Franklin was opposed to giving the Executive any salary beyond his

expenses, and, in general, to any high salaries, as adding the temptation of avarice to that of ambition, and tending to throw the administration of the government into the hands of the violent, bold, and selfish, to the exclusion of the wise, moderate, and disinterested. He read a speech to that effect, to which the Convention listened with marked attention; but his views were regarded as visionary and impracticable.

The vexed question of our times was in full view before the Convention :—

Gouverneur Morris broke out into an eloquent denunciation of slavery. "It was a nefarious institution. It was the curse of Heaven on the States where it prevailed. Compare the free regions of the Middle States, where a rich and noble cultivation marks the prosperity and happiness of the people, with the misery and poverty which overspread the barren wastes of Virginia, Maryland, and the other States having slaves. Travel through the whole continent, and you behold the prospect continually varying with the appearance and disappearance of slavery. The moment you leave the Eastern States and enter New-York, the effects of the institution become visible. Passing through the Jerseys and entering Pennsylvania, every criterion of superior improvement testifies to the change. Proceed southwardly, and every step you take through the great region of slaves presents a desert, increasing with the increasing proportion of those wretched beings. Upon what principle is it that the slaves shall be computed in the representation? Are they men? Then make them citizens and let them vote. Are they property? Why, then, is no other property included? The houses in this city [Philadelphia] are worth more than all the wretched slaves that cover the rice swamps of South Carolina. The admission of slaves into the representation, when fairly explained, comes to this, that the inhabitant of Georgia and South Carolina, who goes to the coast of Africa in defiance of the most sacred laws of humanity, tears away his fellow-creatures from their dearest connections, and damns them to the most cruel bondage, shall have more votes in a government instituted for protection of the rights of mankind, than the citizen of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, who views with a laudable horror so nefarious a practice. He would add, that domestic slavery is the most prominent feature in the aristocratic countenance of the proposed Constitution. The vassalage of the poor has ever been the favorite offspring of aristocracy. And what is the proposed compensation to the Northern States for a sacrifice of every principle of right, every impulse of humanity? They are to bind themselves to march their militia, for the defense of the Southern States, against those very slaves of whom they complain. They must supply vessels and seamen in case of foreign attack. The Legislature will have indefinite power to tax them by excises and duties on imports, both of which will fall heavier on them than on the Southern inhabitants; for the Bohea tea used by a Northern freeman will pay more tax than the whole consumption of the miserable slave, which consists of nothing more than his physical subsistence and the rag which covers his nakedness. On the other side, the Southern States are not to be restrained from importing fresh supplies of wretched Africans, at once to increase the danger of attack and the difficulty of defense; nay, they are to be encouraged to it by an assurance of having their votes in the national government increased in proportion, and, at the same time, are to have their slaves and their exports exempt from all contribution to the public service. Let it not be said that direct taxation is to be

proportioned to representation. It is idle to suppose that the general government can stretch its hand directly into the pocket of the people, scattered over so vast a country. They can only do it through the medium of exports, imports, and excises. For what, then, are all these sacrifices to be made? He would sooner submit himself to a tax for paying for all the negroes in the United States, than saddle posterity with such a Constitution." He moved to confine the representation to free inhabitants.

Sherman "did not regard the admission of the negroes as liable to such insuperable objections. It was the freemen of the Southern States who were to be represented according to the taxes paid by them, and the negroes are only included in the estimate of the taxes. This was his idea of the matter."

C. Pinckney considered the fisheries and the Western frontier more burdensome to the United States than the slaves, as he would demonstrate if the occasion were a proper one.

There are critics in plenty, overmuch disposed to fault Mr. Hildreth, for the apparent lack of all enthusiasm, for a want of becoming national spirit, a patriotic sympathy with the rapidly developing greatness of our country, which he here records. For our own part, we cannot but rejoice in this, as on the whole a feature to be commended. So much is this age—and, if foreigners are to be credited, our countrymen in particular—given to self-laudation, to an overwrought appreciation of our greatness present or prospective, that it is really refreshing to meet with one writer able and determined entirely to avoid this vaingloriousness. It is the less needful that our historians should deal in stimulants to national vanity, because it is an element which each American reader will so readily furnish without the bidding of a prompter. Nor can it be wondered at, that such success as free institutions have here achieved, should make the light-minded almost disgustingly self-vaunting. We hope there are, however, an increasing number who trace to the right, but high and hidden source of God's unmerited benignity, the influences which have made us to differ from most of the nations of the earth. Their pious thankfulness will not be less likely exercised in the perusal of these volumes, because they are not formally and frequently called to its utterance.

No Christian patriot, from the position we now occupy, can fail to review the history of these United States, and the development which it has hitherto furnished of Divine wisdom and beneficence, without adoring thankfulness. Had the question been raised two hundred and fifty years since, *When, and where, and by whom* shall a great empire of and for freedom be established? how futile would man's wisdom have proved to furnish the answer! The Old World then as now was without the elements of this great conception;

hence God prepared a place for this grand experiment in the New World. Far away from the debasing contamination and the blighting, overshadowing influence of colossal, time-mossed despotisms, he planted the germs of this nation. But what were to be its constituent elements? Was ever an experiment tried before combining such a heterogeneous colluvies of what to the eye would seem discordant materials? The proud cavaliers of Virginia, hunting for gold and earldoms; the genuine Puritans of Plymouth, and the semi-Puritans of Massachusetts Bay; the French Huguenots of Carolina; the Spaniards of Florida; the Dutch of New-Netherlands; the Irish Catholics of Maryland; the exiled Baptists of Rhode Island; the Swedes and Finns of Delaware; the Quakers and Germans of Pennsylvania; the Scotch of New-Jersey and Georgia; and the French Catholics of Louisiana,—what a compound must all these ingredients form when melted down in the great alembic of a national unity. Yet has this very diversity in many times and ways proved of the utmost benefit; nor has it failed to impress on the active and improving masses the necessity and desirableness of mutual forbearance, of conciliatory and kind regard for each other's principles, practices, and even prejudices. To learn of each other, also, what each was enabled to teach the rest which was better and wiser than these had known before, seemed so much a matter of course, from this daily proximity, that it has excited no marvel, though in the review it should not fail to awaken gratitude.

Then the political training which each of the colonies in various ways had experienced to fit them for self-government, and for coalescence too; the various exigencies which imperiously required of them mutual concessions, and thus fitted them to combine with one another; the right men, raised up always at the right moment; the results of their endeavors often guided by an unseen hand to accomplishments far beyond their short-sighted aims;—all these things, in instances almost innumerable, are well adapted to fill the most devout with still more adoring conceptions of that infinite power and wisdom and goodness which have been so largely engaged in making us what we are.

In conclusion, we can most cordially express the hope, that such will be the success of the present publication, as to warrant the author's early fulfilling his promise, "in two more volumes to sketch the story even to the present times."

ART. III.—WASHINGTON IRVING'S WORKS.

- Irving's Works.* New-York: G. P. Putnam. 1848-9-50.
The Crayon Reading Book: Comprising Selections from the various Writings of Washington Irving. Prepared for the use of Schools. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 1849.
A Book of the Hudson, collected from the various Works of Diedrich Knickerbocker. Edited by GEOFFREY CRAYON. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 1849.

WE do not propose to attempt a full review of Mr. Irving's works. The collection is not yet complete. One of the most characteristic parts is still wanting; and it will be both easier and pleasanter to do it when this beautiful mind has been spread before us in all its abundance. Most of the volumes which have appeared thus far are old friends, our daily companions of many years, whom we cordially greet in their new garb. We thank Mr. Putnam heartily for his taste and his enterprise; he could not have done a more honorable thing for himself, or rendered a more important service to American literature. There is no American writer who awakens such associations as Mr. Irving. *Salmagundi* carries us back to the very dawn of our literature; *Knickerbocker* was like the opening of an exhaustless mine; the *Sketch Book* was the first American book which Englishmen read. We shall never forget the first appearance of "Columbus." Our enthusiasm had been warmed by a recent visit to the great navigator's birth-place. A friend, fresh from Spain, had seen a chapter in manuscript, and told us things about it which haunted us even during the excitement of a first winter in Rome. Soon after the newspapers were filled with the tidings of its approach. Murray had published—Galignani was printing it. There were no railroads in those days, and we were constrained to curb our impatience as best we might. At last, one sunny morning,—we shall never forget it—such mornings as Florence gives you in summer, when the cool shadows fall gratefully from her massive palaces, and the murmur of fountains steals like music on the perfumed air,—we had eaten our breakfast of fresh figs and grapes still dripping with dew, and strolled out towards a friend's, with that indefinite anticipation with which you are sometimes made to feel that the day will not pass without bringing you

a new pleasure. Our friend's house was a kind of gathering place for loungers like ourselves. That morning they were all there before us, a silent group around the table ; and the first sound that struck the ear was that beautiful sentence in the introduction to Columbus, "which seems to bring back by one bold stroke of the pencil, all the darkness of that veil which had so long shrouded the mysteries of the ocean."

Columbus carried us back to the Sketch Book. We had given away our only copy, and when we got back to our quiet home in Sienna, were not a little at a loss where to go for another. At length chance brought home, after many wanderings, a little old man by the name of Montucci. He was a dapper little man, scarcely five feet high, with a bright Italian eye and a fluent tongue, over which Italian, English, French, and German rolled with equal volubility ; he had lived everywhere, had known Alfieri, had written a Chinese dictionary, and was now returned to purge Italy of Gallicisms, and lay his bones in his native soil. But the great labor of his life had been the publication of a Berlin edition of the Sketch Book, under the very eyes of the author, who had written him a letter beginning with "Dear Doctor," and subscribed, "Truly yours." He showed us the letter and sold us the book. Blessings on his memory ! how many exquisite hours we owe him.

We have said that Mr. Putnam has rendered a very important service to American literature. We can use this term now, and use it boldly, for we have a literature whose claims none but a snarling critic in his most snarling mood can deny. The past is sure. It was of the future that we were thinking when we made our assertion. Men in this book-making age of ours read everything, and the new crowds upon us so thickly, that we are in constant danger of forgetting the old. Then every new invention brings in new words ; with every new incident, whether great or little, comes some new phrase ; our daily wants, enlarged by a thousand sources, give rise to new forms of speech every day ; and while the great current sweeps us onward, all those old landmarks which guided our fathers so surely are sinking one after the other in the receding horizon. We would not wish to be misunderstood. We know that progress requires movement, and that language like everything else must change, to meet the wants of those that use it. *King* can never mean again what it meant a hundred years ago, any more than the virtue of the heroic age could express the virtue of Socrates. And we rejoice that it is so, and we thank Heaven for this law of

progress, which we accept freely with all its requisitions and all its consequences. But progress is development, not destruction. It respects the labors of others. It rejects nothing because it is old. It casts off dry branches, but never tears up a living root. There is nothing with promise in it to which it does not hold fast, and not a seed that it does not treasure up with grateful acknowledgment. We are no conservatists of dried bones. Away with what has no life in it, be it new or old. But we would dig an honorable grave for it and bury it respectfully, and set a tablet there to tell future ages that this too was useful in its day and generation.

Now the tendency of the present day is to forget this useful past, and to make the fertility of our current literature an excuse for neglecting those classic periods in which our language received its definitive form. Look upon the centre table. That antique binding, with its silver clasps and rich embossing, must surely betoken some father of our literature. No, it is only a Book of Beauty. Go to the library. What a superb copy of Macaulay's *Miscellanies* and Emerson! But is there no Swift, no Dryden there? No little nook for the *Spectator*, that used once to lie well-thumbed upon every table? Yes; take the ladder and climb up to the top of the book-case and you will find them on the upper shelf, but with such a shroud of dust about them, that it will well nigh cost you both eyes and lungs to get them into a readable shape. We once met a graduate of one of our oldest Universities, a man of much general culture, and remarkable for his refined and elegant tastes, who had never read "*Alexander's Feast*;" and it was not more than a month ago that we put the "*Tale of a Tub*" into the hands of a man whose whole nature was formed to enjoy it, and yet who had passed twenty years in the midst of books without ever seeing this boldest and most vigorous of all satires. And our school-books, our Readers, our *Elegant Extracts*, those collections which go first into the scholar's hand and stay there longest, which give him his first notions of language and taste, and, so to speak, the key-note to his mind, which are so full of "taste and morals" in the preface, and so classic on the title-page,—what are they but conservatories of magazine poetry, newspaper wit, and Congressional eloquence? One would think that English literature was just born, or at the best but just escaped its swaddling clothes. And is it not a crying shame to do so heedlessly what might be done so well, and waste the embalmer's art on what has hardly form enough to make a shrivelled mummy? But we have Webster and Bryant and Longfellow,

and other great names there too. True, and strange enough they look in such sorry company. But Webster would send you to Pitt and Burke, and to a daily and nightly thumbing of Demosthenes ; and Bryant would tell you that if you would feel all the delicacy of his language and his exquisite modulation, you must go back to his masters and study them, as he did and does. When a sculptor wants a cast of some master-piece of his art, he has a mould made upon the original, and draws from his mould an exact fac-simile in form, feature, and expression. But every time you use the mould you take something from its perfection. There will be some slight, almost indefinite change in the expression,—something wanting to the finish of the surface and the exactness of the outline ; and if you want a fresh and faithful copy you must go back again to the original and form your mould anew.

We have touched unawares upon a difficult question, and now we must say a few words more before we turn back. Every man must live in the present. It is his true field,—the only one in which he can be truly or happily useful. He must submit, too, to the influence of his contemporaries, enter into the great questions of the day, and move with the world that is moving around him. How silly would it be to know Demosthenes or Cicero by heart, and not be able to give a sentence from Clay or Webster ! Would you understand Thucydides ? Would you fathom the depths of that vast mind of Tacitus ? Read the newspapers, watch the polls, squeeze into the living history of a mass meeting. For history is life, and can only be understood by those who have read the living page. But on that page even how dead the letter, how imperfect the lesson without the comment of the past. You may watch the shadow as it slowly moves across the dial, and read the numbers on which it successively falls, but the numbers will be an enigma, and the shadow itself a mystery.

Now what is the time for laying this foundation of serious study,—in the age of preparation, or when the mind is engrossed by the active duties of life ? Will the man who did not learn from his daily exercises to admire the natural grace and ingenuous simplicity of classic literature, find time or taste for the study when his eye has been dazzled and his ear vitiated by the extravagance of transient fashion ? There can be but one answer. We read in old legends of rings of such virtue that they change their color at the touch of poison. Arm yourself with this ring. It is within the reach of all.

Homer has lent it to thousands. Shakspeare and Spenser and Milton have wrought it anew, and Dryden and Pope have learned the secret from them. Go to them meekly and humbly, as they went each to his master; let them be your waking hope, your nightly vigil; believe, trust, and above all grow not weary in the probation, and the reward is sure.

There is one great merit which we must allow Voltaire, even while we deplore most the fatal use which he too often made of his shining talents. He wrote, as it is well known, upon a great variety of subjects,—poems, histories, plays; recorded many incidents of his life in beautiful odes; interpreted Newton and commented Corneille; and it was a growing wonder with his contemporaries, that while he was obliged to read so much he could always write so well. Sismondi has pleaded the bad style and different languages of the books he was drawing from as an excuse for the occasional incorrectness of his own. Voltaire managed this better. He had begun by writing carefully and studying correctness in his prose as well as in his poetry. But without trusting to the memory of his early studies, he kept constantly by him a volume of Racine and Massillon's *Petit Carême*. If he was going to write verse, he read a page in Racine,—if prose, one of Massillon; and with this key-note for his ear, preserved the harmony of his own style without ever sinking into negligence or weakening his individuability by imitation.

Now one of the reasons for which we rejoice in this republication of Irving's works is, that they bring you back to all the best traditions of the language. Mr. Irving's style possesses that exquisite charm, which nothing but the study of books, combined with that of nature, can give. You feel that he has drunk deep at the pure wells of literature, and looked on men and nature with a loving eye. If style be a reflection of the mind, Mr. Irving's must be a beautiful one. And yet clearly marked as the characteristics of his style are, we are at a loss to seize upon the secret of its power. It is natural, for you feel all the while you are reading him as if you ought to have written just so yourself. It is simple, for there is not an overstrained expression or a cumbrous epithet in it. It is elegant, for it has all the richness which imagery and language can give. It is picturesque, for it paints to the eye like poetry. It is harmonious, for it falls on the ear like music. It is transparent—the meadow-brook is not more so. And yet of these and of all the qualities which it possesses in so eminent a degree, which are those that mark him out as a

writer by himself, and make it impossible for you to confound him with any other?

One of them doubtless is his peculiar felicity in the choice of epithets. This is, as every writer knows, one of the greatest difficulties in the art of writing. It is one thing to describe a scene accurately, another to throw into your description some happy expression which shall imprint it on the memory and become permanently associated with it. It is the poet's gift, requiring quick sensibilities and a lively fancy. Mr. Irving has it in an eminent degree. He never plucks a flower without seeing something in it that you never saw there before,—some connection between the visible and the invisible world, some new alliance betwixt thought and feeling, which embalms it in odors richer than its own. His landscapes show with what a thoughtful and confiding spirit he has looked upon nature, drawing in cheering inspirations and a soothing trust for the hour of gloom. Did you ever look, kind reader, upon an Italian landscape in October? We will suppose it to be a mountain scene,—Florence, if you choose, for there the mountains are drawn in a semicircle around you, and that sweet valley of the Arno lies like a sunbeam between. Look upon that valley and those mountains. They are the same that you saw a few months ago,—the same sharp outline on the clear blue sky, the same mingling of olive and vineyard below. But there is something hanging over it all, something which softens down every rougher feature, and gives a deeper, yet a calmer glow to the sunlight that rests upon it like a smile of love. It is nothing but a thin veil of unsubstantial mist, which the first rough breeze will scatter, or which may rise up to float away with the clouds, and fall back to earth or ocean again in rain; and yet with that veil over it with what a new and magic power does the spell of the landscape steal into your soul.

Now this is just the effect of Mr. Irving's epithets. You knew the object before, its form and history, and could tell, as you thought, all about it; and yet how different it appears when you look at it through the magic of his words.

It is easy to fix upon the distinctive characteristic of Dr. Arnold's style—it is earnestness. You cannot but be struck with the freshness of his language, and the easy construction of his sentences. You feel that he has studied at the best sources, and comes to his task with a mind fully imbued with the pure spirit of classic literature. But what you feel above all in reading him is, the earnest conviction with which he writes. You may not agree with him in all that he says, but

you feel that he believed it, and would never have said it if he had not believed it firmly. His imagination is vigorous, but it is used only to increase the vividness of his pictures. There is not a shade there, nor even a single touch, for which he cannot give you his authority; and the distinctness of his conceptions gives a life-like force to the description, which mere imagination would never have given. Life was all real for him. He looked upon it earnestly, and watched its checkered scenes with a thoughtful eye. The past was his key to the present, and in the present he was guided and cheered by his profound study of the past. His, in short, was one of those capacious and truth-loving minds which cannot look on any human thing with indifference, and to which even a sparrow's flight conveys some lesson of deep import.

Macaulay's characteristic is point. He too is a scholar of a rich and vigorous mind, stored with choice learning, and sharpened in later years by the experience of public life. His language too is simple, and his style warm and full of movement. There is a life in his description, and an animation in his narrative which hurry you on with panting interest. But still there is something in his antithetical periods, and in those paragraphs which rise one after the other into such a succession of climax, that detracts somewhat from your confidence, and carries your attention oftener than you would wish from the page to the writer. You think of him in his study with close-knit brow, thoughtfully working out those brilliant sentences; sometimes borne away by the rapidity of his thoughts, and then pausing to look back and see how well he has expressed them. You can see him deepening a shadow by repeated touches, and studying relief by strong contrasts. You feel, in short, that he is determined to make you read him, and cares full as much for your admiration as for your confidence. And it is a proof of his singular power, that in spite of this perpetual coruscation you do read and read him to the end.

Mr. Irving's style has neither the point of Macaulay nor the earnestness of Arnold, but there is a gentle persuasiveness about it which carries you forward with an imperceptible, but at the same time an irresistible force. It is like floating down some broad stream, with towers and old castles and groves and vineyards and green meadows scattered all along on its banks. You can look at them all as you glide gently by, and catch the sweet odors of the blossoms and the flowers; and it is only when you pause to look backwards

that you feel that the greatest wonder of all is the stream on whose bosom you have floated so sweetly.

Another charm of Irving's writings is the skill with which he winds into his subject. His introductions seem to rise from it so naturally, and prepare the way for what follows, just as a well arranged prelude prepares the ear for the music. There is always a certain amount of common-place in an introduction, whether it be grave or gay, and the utmost that can be asked of a writer is that he should give it a new turn. There is great danger, too, of promising too much, of starting upon a high key which you cannot get down from without a discord. It is seldom that there is any such jar in Irving. He has none of the listlessness either with which you sometimes take up your pen, and which hangs over you till you are fairly started. He always seems to come well prepared, and to know where he means to begin. If he does gnaw his pen, the reader never finds it out. Lord Brougham, in those capricious sketches of his, has drawn an unfavorable comparison between Irving and Robertson. Now, while we cheerfully concur with him in giving all praise to the great historian, we cannot but think that his Lordship has been guilty of a singular oversight for so skilful a critic. Robertson is writing the history of America, in which the discovery forms a chapter,—Irving, the history of the discoverer, whose whole career depends upon it. Therefore one could sketch it in outline, while the other was required to make a finished picture. The story is certainly a most exciting one, in that fine, vigorous style of Robertson, and he has selected all his incidents with singular skill,—the long delay, the anxious preparation, the doubtful beginning, the swift alternations of hope and fear, while doubt became terror, and terror rose almost to mutiny, till at last the rising dawn reveals the shores of a new world, and his companions fall trembling and conscience-stricken at his feet. Irving's task is perhaps a harder one, for he is to carry you with him over this unexplored space, and point out every change and wonder of the way. You must see the sun's rise, and watch the slowly ebbing day to its close. You must pace with Columbus his little deck, study with him the changing aspect of the stars, and feel as he does when the mysterious needle slowly turns from the pole. You must fix with him your steady gaze upon the illimitable space, and strive to read in every floating weed the secret of those untrodden paths. You must see what the strong mind can do, and what kind of conviction that is which can hold firm in the midst of superstition and discouragement, and

compel submission by the force of superior will. And then, as you catch with him the first glance of that flitting light, and feel that in a few hours all your doubts will be solved, you will feel the full force of that beautiful paragraph in which the crowding thoughts of Columbus's mind are sketched with so true and skilful a hand.

Each of these narratives is beautiful, and each written in perfect accordance with the author's aim. To ask Robertson for the full detail of Irving, or Irving for the vigorous condensation of Robertson, would be absurd. We should as soon think of blaming Tacitus for not having drawn with the minute and elaborate finish of Livy, or Livy with the bold and energetic outline of Tacitus.

It would be easy to go on and speak of Irving's humor and pathos, of the pure tone of his writings, and his true American spirit. We must say one word about the last, for some exacting critics have seen fit to charge him with a lack of it, and lay it to his door as a fault that he has written so much about Europe. We have never counted the purely American pages in his works, but there is not one of them in which the subject admitted of it which does not contain some illustration of American scenery or tradition. King Philip, and that admirable chapter on the Indians, are certainly not European, any more than Rip Van Winkle and Sleepy Hollow. Dolph Heyliger is one of the best things in Bracebridge Hall. A volume has been made out of what he has written about the Hudson,* and Columbus is all American. But those who accuse Irving of writing too much about Europe forget that he was writing for Americans who wanted to be told something about that Old World which so few of them, when he first began to write, had ever seen. Circumstances had put it in his power to meet one of the great wants of our public, and he did it. Some crusty European may perhaps blame him, but the ten thousand copies which have already been sold of this last edition of the Sketch Book, tell clearly enough what his own countrymen think of it.

We must add, too, a few words about the "Life of Goldsmith." Mahomet belongs to the Spanish series, of which we hope to speak at length on some future occasion. But the Goldsmith is complete.

If there is anybody of whom it could be said that it was his duty to write a life of Goldsmith, it is Washington Irving; and often as we have had occasion to thank him for happy

* Book of the Hudson, &c.

hours, we do not know that we ever felt so grateful to him for anything as for this. We have always loved Goldsmith, his poetry and his prose, and everything about him. There is not a poem in the language that we can go back to with the same zest with which we open the Traveller or the Deserted Village for the five hundredth time; and we can never get through a ten minutes' speech without quoting the Vicar of Wakefield. And yet we must say frankly that we never understood Goldsmith's character until now. We have been vexed at his weakness and have blushed at his blunders. We had always wished he could have thrown off his brogue and had never put on his bloom-colored coat. That he should not have known how to keep his money was not very wonderful,—it is a professional weakness; but he might at any rate have thrown it away in better company. We have been more than once sorely troubled too by sundry little slips that savored somewhat of moral obliquity, and never been able to reconcile the elevation of his intellect with acts that far less rigorous judges than we have characterized as mean and degrading. In short, with all our contempt for Boswell, we had been fairly Boswellized, and much as we loved Goldsmith, loved him somewhat in despite of what we thought our better judgment.

Thanks to Mr. Irving, our doubts have all been solved, and we can love the kind, simple-hearted, genial man with as much confidence as we admire his writings. This overflowing of the heart, this true philosophy so interwoven with his whole nature that whether he acts or speaks you find it as strongly marked in his actions as in his language; that quick sensibility which makes him so keenly alive to all the petty annoyances of his dependent position, and that buoyancy of spirit which raises him above them, and bears him up on the wave while many a stouter heart is sinking around him; those ready sympathies, that self-forgetfulness, that innate, unprompted, spontaneous philanthropy which, in the days of his prosperity as well as in his days of trial, was never belied by word or by deed,—all these we understand as we never understood them before, and feel how rare and beautiful they are. He was not wise in his own concerns, and yet what treasures of wisdom has he not bequeathed to the world. Artless as an infant, yet how deeply read in human nature; with all his feelings upon the surface, ruffled by every breeze and glowing in every sunbeam, and yet how skilled in all the secret windings of the heart. None but a man of genial nature should ever attempt to write the life of Goldsmith: one

who knows how much wisdom can be extracted from folly ; how much better for the heart it is to trust than to doubt ; how much nobler is a generous impulse than a cautious reserve ; how much truer a wisdom there is in benevolence than in all the shrewd devices of worldly craft.

Now Mr. Irving is just the man to feel all this and to make you feel it too. He sees how weak Goldsmith is in many things, how wise in others, and he sees how closely his wisdom and his weakness are allied. There is no condescension in his pity, none of that parade which often makes pity tenfold more bitter than the sufferings which call it forth. He tells you the story of his hero's errors as freely as he does that of his virtues, and in a way to make you feel that a man may have many a human weakness lie heavy at his door, and yet be worthy of our love and admiration still. He has no desire to conceal, makes no attempt to palliate. He understands his hero's character thoroughly, and feels that if he can only make you understand it, you will love him as much as he does. Therefore he draws him just as he is, lights and shadows, virtues and foibles,—vices you cannot call them, be you never so unkind. At his blunders he laughs just as Goldsmith himself used to laugh in recounting them, and he feels the secret of his virtues too justly to attempt to gild them over with useless embellishment.

We have always fancied that there was a strong resemblance between Goldsmith and Irving. They both look at human nature from the same generous point of view, with the same kindly sympathies and the same tolerant philosophy. They have the same quick perception of the ludicrous, and the same tender simplicity in the pathetic. There is the same quiet vein of humor in both, and the same cheerful spirit of hopefulness. You are at a loss to conceive how either of them can ever have had an enemy ; and as for jealousy and malice and all that brood of evil passions which beset the path of fame so thickly, you feel that there can be no resting-place for them in bosoms like theirs. Yet each preserves his individuality as distinctly as if there were no points of resemblance between them. Irving's style is as much his own as though Goldsmith had never written, and his pictures have that freshness about them which nothing but life-studies can give. He has given us no poem, no "Traveller," no "Deserted Village," no exquisite ballad like "The Hermit," no touching little stanzas of unapproachable pathos, like "Woman." But how much real poetry and how much real pathos has he not given. We do not believe that

there was ever such a description of the song of a bird as his description of the soaring of a lark in "Buckthorn;" and the poor old widow in the Sketch Book who, the first Sunday after her son's burial, comes to church with a few bits of black silk and ribbon, the only external emblem of mourning which her poverty allowed her to make, is a picture that we can never look at through his simple and graphic periods without sobbing like a child. Poet he is, and that too of the best and noblest kind, for he stores our memories with lovely images and our hearts with humane affections. If you would learn to be kinder and truer, if you would learn to bear life's burden manfully, and make for yourself sunshine where half your fellow-men see nothing but shadows and gloom—read and meditate Goldsmith and Irving. And if you too are an author, at the first gentle acclivity or far upward on the heights of fame, learn to turn backwards to your teacher with the same generous and fervent gratitude with which Irving at the close of his preface addresses himself to Goldsmith in the noble language of Dante:—

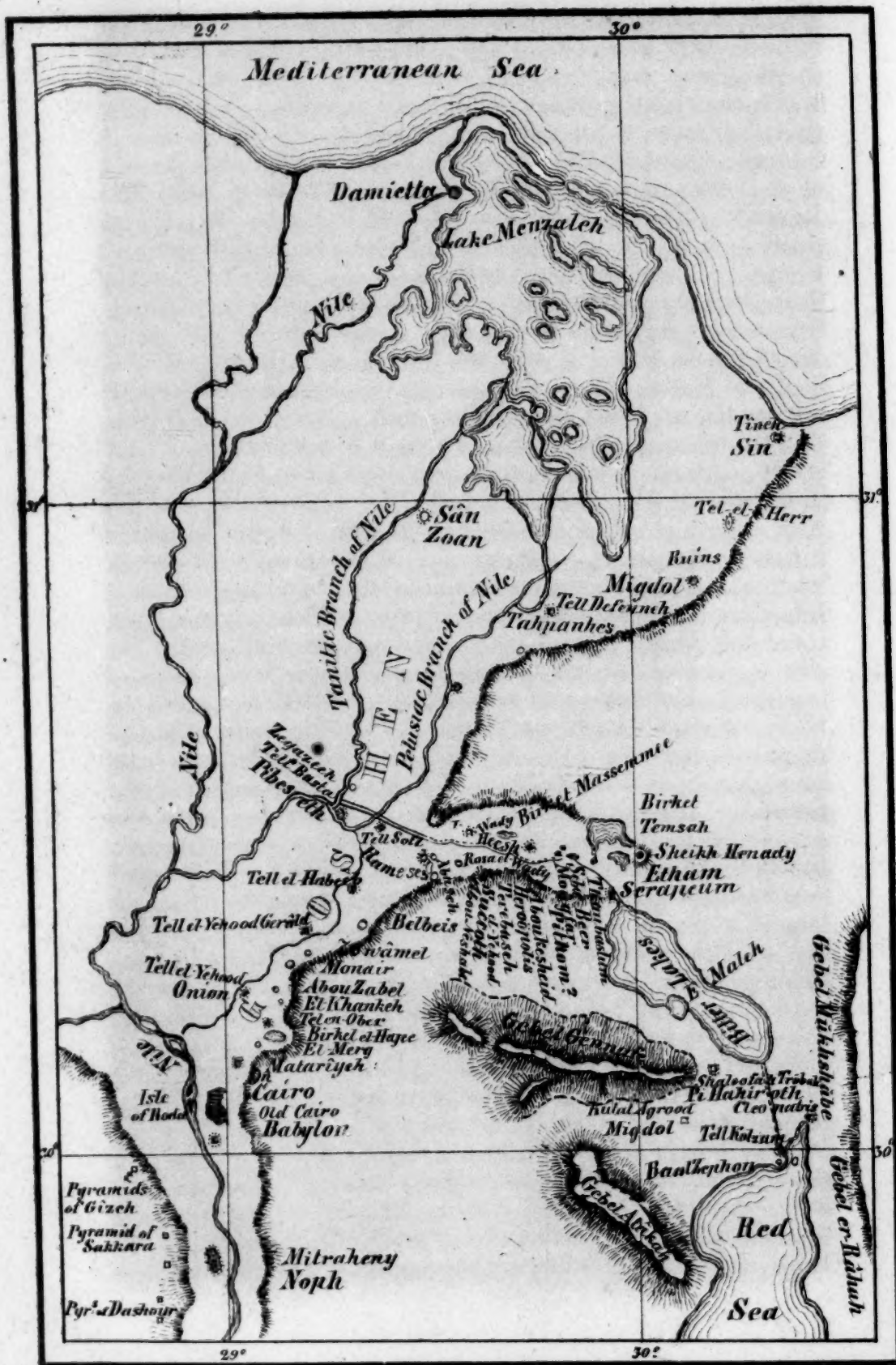
Tu se' lo mio maestro, e 'l mio autore ;
 Tu se' solo colui da cu' io tolsi
 Lo bello stile che m' ha fatto onore.

Thou art my master, and my teacher thou ;
 It was from thee, and thee alone, I took
 That noble style for which men honor me.

ART. IV.—GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE LAND OF GOSHEN.*

NEXT to Herodotus, the Roman geographer *Strabo* furnishes valuable hints in reference to that portion of Egypt comprised in ancient Goshen. Living in the age of Augustus, the Roman subjugator of Egypt, visiting the country about B. C. 25, when the recent conquest gave a freshness of interest to the field of inquiry, traversing the length and breadth of the land with the rare facilities for investigation which his intimate friendship with the Roman governor of the province furnished, his researches might be supposed to be minute and accurate. From his 17th Book, which is chiefly devoted to Egypt, the following items may be

* Concluded from Vol. XIV. p. 460.



gathered. He says: "Between the Pelusiatic and Tanitic branches are lakes (λίμναι) and great and extended marshes, (ἐλη,) having many villages (κώμας);" the very appearance which the country at this day bears. Speaking of Pelusium (Sin) he says: "At this point, Egypt is difficult of access from the region of Phœnicia and Judea. But from Arabia of the Nabatæans, which is adjacent, a road is open into Egypt." By this road, far south of Pelusium, the Greek translators of the Pentateuch indicate that Jacob entered Egypt. "Between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf (κόλπον) lies *Arabia*; and at its extremity Pelusium is situated. The whole region is desert and impassable by an army. The isthmus which is between Pelusium and the gulf adjacent to Heroöpolis (τοῦ μυχου τοῦ κατ' Ἡρώων πόλιν) is in breadth 900 stadia, as Posidonius thinks; and it is indeed less than 1,500 stadia; in addition to which it is without water, and sandy, and infested with serpents which conceal themselves in the sand." In Strabo's day, the part of Egypt east of the Nile seems to have been called Arabia. Again he says: "Above Pelusium in Arabia are other lakes, and canals leading into them, beyond the limits of the Delta, (ἐξω τοῦ Δέλτα.) Into the same lakes other canals come. There is yet another canal emptying into the Red Sea and Arabian Gulf, and at the city of Arsinoë, (εἰς τὴν Ἐρσινὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, καὶ πόλιν Ἀρσινόην,) which some call Cleopatris." As will be seen from Pliny, the canal flowed past Arsinoë. Strabo afterwards distinguishes between Arsinoë and Cleopatris. "It flows also through the so called Bitter Lakes; which indeed were formerly bitter, but when the canal just mentioned was excavated, by the mixture with the river, they were changed, and now they are full of fish and aquatic birds. This canal was first cut by Sesostris before the Trojan era, (πρὸ των Τρωϊκων;) though some say it was not commenced until the reign of the son of Psammiticus, (ὑπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμιτίκων παιδός,) death having taken him off. Afterwards, under Darius the first, the work was prosecuted, but he left it unfinished. The Ptolemies, cutting it through, made *the canal-lock*, (κλειστόν τὸν Εὐριπον, literally, "made closed the canal,") so that when they wished they could pass into the sea without impediment." If it be remembered now, that Herodotus visited Egypt during the Persian sway, nearly 200 years before the canal was cut through into the *Red Sea*, we must conclude, that when he says, "the canal emptied into the Red Sea at Patumos, the Arabian city," he meant by "*sea*" the expanse of the Bitter Lakes when filled by the waters of the Nile through

the canal; and there is suggested the probability, more and more confirmed by examination, that as the modern Arabs call the bed of those lakes, though dry, "*Bahr*," (sea,) so in all ages has this bed been called, by the Hebrew Moses, by the Grecian Herodotus, and by the Roman Strabo himself, as well as by the Arabian chroniclers. Strabo continues: "Near Arsinoë is Heroöpolis and Cleopatris on the arm of the Arabian Gulf towards Egypt, (Πησίον δὲ τῆς Ἀρσινόης καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἡρώων ἐστὶ πόλις καὶ ἡ Κλεοπατρίς ἐν τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τῷ πρὸς Ἀιγυπτὸν;) also harbors and habitations and very many canals and lakes adjacent to it." The remark last suggested removes the difficulty of placing Heroöpolis where all modern writers seem to agree to place it, *on the western border of the expanse of the Bitter Lakes*; Strabo probably meaning this expanse by "the arm of the Arabian Gulf towards Egypt," as is indicated by the statement, that there "are *canals* and *lakes* adjacent," which could be true only of the region of the Bitter Lakes. He adds: "At the same place is the Phagroripolitan province and the city Phagroripolis, (Φαγγοριόπολις.) The canal going out into the Red Sea has its commencement at the city Phaccusa, (Φακκούσης,) which is contiguous to the village of Philo. The canal has a breadth of 100 cubits, and a depth sufficient for a large ship. These places are in the vicinity of the head of the Delta. There also is Bubastis and the Bubastic province; and above is the province of Heliopolis:" of which city he afterwards says, "The city is now entirely deserted;" and again, "We saw at Heliopolis the houses where the priests formerly dwelt." The village of Phaccusa, (at which Strabo says the canal began,) though mentioned as in the vicinity of Bubastis, (at which Herodotus fixes the commencement of the canal,) was nevertheless considerably distant from it, as we shall soon see. There were however, as at this day, various *branches* of the canal *within the Delta*, all centring at the mouth of the eastern valley. The distinction which Strabo makes between *Cleopatris* and *Arsinoë* is worthy of note. There were several towns bearing the general name *Arsinoë* (or cities of *Venus*) mentioned by Strabo; and his two statements above quoted seem to imply that near the Red Sea there were two towns, one of which *all* called *Arsinoë*, while the other was *generally* called *Cleopatris*, though sometimes also *Arsinoë*.

In his 16th Book, Strabo makes three or four allusions to the position of Heroöpolis, all of which agree with the extract already made.

From the history of *Diodorus Siculus* some valuable par-

ticulars may be drawn as to the portion of Egypt supposed to be the Goshen of Moses's day. Living, as did also Strabo, in the days of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, and visiting Egypt under those conquerors, this section of the country had a special interest for this minute investigator.

Diodorus says : " Of the parts [of Egypt] extending to the east, some the river defends, and others the desert and marshy plains environ. For there is in the midst of the valley between Syria and Egypt (τῆς κοίτης Συρίας καὶ τοῦ Αἰγύπτου) a lake, (λίμνη,) which in breadth is quite narrow, but in depth is incredible ; and which in length exceeds 200 stadia, (or 24 miles.) It is called Serbonis, (Σέρβωνις;) and it brings upon the inexperienced who approach it unexpected perils. For the stream (ρεύματος) is narrow like a ribbon, and has large sandy shores extending along it ; and when continued winds blow, a great quantity of sand collects upon it, making the water indistinct, and giving the lake the appearance of solid land, so that it is entirely unperceived. And since many are unacquainted with the nature of the place, even whole armies have perished here, having wandered from the true solid ground. For the sand, when advanced upon a short distance, gives way, and as it were by a malicious forethought entraps those who have entered upon it ; and when they, becoming aware of what will befall, attempt to save themselves, there is no chance for retreat or rescue. For the man sunk in the quicksand cannot swim, since the mud impedes the motion of his body ; nor can he walk, since he has no foot-hold to sustain his tread. Hence, since the sand is thus filled with water in a mixture of such a nature, this place cannot be crossed by either land or water carriage. Therefore it is that those having entered on these places find no resource for their rescue, sinking as they do in the abyss, and the sand along the margin sinking with them. Therefore also it is that these plains having such a nature have received the appropriate appellation of Barathra." (Lib. I. Sect. 30.*)

Again, after speaking of the seven mouths of the Nile, Diodorus says : " From the Pelusiatic mouth (στόματος) there is a canal (διώρυξ) made by hand into the Arabian Gulf and Red Sea. This Necos, the son of Psammiticus, undertook to construct ; and after him Darius the Persian prosecuted the work, until in the result its completion was found impracticable. For he was told by certain persons that, if he cut through the Isthmus, he would cause Egypt to be submerged ; for they demonstrated (ἀποδείκνυνον) that the Red Sea was more elevated

* Edition published at Amsterdam, 1746.

(μυτεωποτίσαν) than Egypt. But at length the second Ptolemy completed it; and at a convenient point constructed an ingenious barrier, (φιλότεχνον διάφραγμα.) This he opened, and immediately closed again, whenever he wished to sail through, the necessity being skilfully provided for. The stream (ποταμός) flowing through this canal is called Ptolemæan, from the founder; and at its outlet (ἐκβολῇς) there is a city called Arsinoë." (Sect. 33.) Speaking of the Delta in general, he says: "This island . . . furnishes the best land of Egypt. The soil being the deposit of the river, and overflowed by it, produces every variety of fruit in abundance." (Sect. 34.) Of Sesostris (Remeses the Great) he remarks: "Through all the country, from Memphis to the sea, he dug frequent canals, that the people might gather their harvests quickly and easily; . . . and yet more that he might render the country difficult of access, and secure against the incursions of enemies. For before his time the greater part of Egypt was open to the movements of horses and chariots. But afterwards, on account of the multitude of canals issuing from the river, it was very difficult of access. He built a wall on the side of Egypt towards the east, as a defense against incursions from Syria and Arabia, extending through the desert from Pelusium to Heliopolis, in length 1,500 furlongs." (Sect. 57.)

The extract from sect. 30 gives a fearfully vivid picture of the long line of quicksands which form the bed of the Bitter Lakes. These now extend from the head of the Gulf of Suez quite up to Lake Menzaleh; but in the age of Strabo and Diodorus they could have extended only from the head of the then filled bed of the Bitter Lakes up to Lake Menzaleh.* The second extract confirms the statement of Herodotus, and at the same time conflicts not with that of Strabo, as to the *first founder* of the canal. The strong word "*demonstrated*" used by Diodorus in reference to the knowledge of the ancients, that the Red Sea was higher than the land of Egypt, implies that it was something more than a conjecture or mere opinion; while the construction of the *lock* shows that it was a positive, proved *fact*, that there was the supposed difference of level. Diodorus also points out the particular portion of the canal (that between the Bitter Lakes and the sea) which was the work of Ptolemy, and which received his name. The statement in reference to Arsinoë fixes its position

* The writer, either fortunately or unfortunately, was not aware of the existence of these fearful quicksands when the incidents described in pp. 164-5 (Christian Review, No. 54) occurred.

at one extremity of this Ptolemæan portion of the canal ; and the word "*outlet*" most naturally fixes it at the *northern* extremity, since in this part of the canal the water flowed *from* the Red Sea into the Bitter Lakes. The last extract may explain Strabo's mention that *Sesostris began* the great canal, since a large portion of it is *in the Delta*. It perhaps also illustrates the ready pursuit of the Israelites by Pharaoh's charioteers, harmonizing as it does with the now generally received opinion that Sesostris, the great canal excavator, lived after the Exodus, in the days of the early Judges of Israel. The extract from sect. 34 is in harmony with the general evidence which fixes Goshen, "the best of the land," on the east of the *Delta*.

Pliny the naturalist, who wrote shortly after the Christian era, has made some references to the portion of Egypt under consideration. In a general sketch of the sea-coast from the south of Arabia to Ptolemais (now Acre) on the shore of Palestine, (B. VI. sect. 29,) he says: "From the *Ælanitic Gulf* there is another gulf (*sinus*) which the Arabs call *Æant* ; on which (in quo) is *Heroöpolis*, (*Heroum oppidum*.) There was also a city of *Cambyses* between *Nelos* and *Marchadas*, where the sick of his army were carried by him, (*Fuit et Cambisu inter Nelos et Marchadas, deductis eo ægris exercitus*.) The people are *Tyrian* ; and here is the harbor *Daneon*, (of the Greeks ?) (*Tyra gens, portus Daneon*,) from which a navigable channel is made to conduct into the Nile at the point where the distance to the *Delta*, so called, is an interval of 62 miles ; which is the distance between the river and the Red Sea. First of all *Sesostris*, King of Egypt, contemplated it, (*cogitavit* ;) next *Darius* of the Persians ; and finally *Ptolemy* following constructed a canal which was 100 feet (*pedes*) in breadth, 30 feet in depth, and thirty-seven and a half miles (*XXXVII mil. D passuum*) in length, even to the bitter fountains, (*usque ad amaros fontes*.) Beyond this point the fear of an inundation deterred them, the Red Sea being found to be three cubits [from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 feet] higher than the land of Egypt. (*Ultra metus inundationis deterruit ; excelsiore tribus cubitis Rubro Mare comperto, quam terra Ægypti*.) Others do not ascribe it to this cause, but to the fear lest the water of the Nile, which affords the only drink, should be corrupted, the sea being admitted into it, (*immisso mari*.) Nevertheless the whole journey is frequently made by land (*terendo*) from the Egyptian Sea. There are three routes. One is from *Pelusium* over the desert, on which, unless stakes erected indicated it, the way could not be found, since the wind covers the

path. The second, commencing two miles beyond Mount Casius, at the distance of sixty miles comes into the Pelusiac route. The Avtean Arabs (Arabes Autei) dwell on this route. The third is by Gerro, (which route they call Adipson,) through the territory of the same Arabs, sixty miles nearer indeed, but rough with mountains and destitute of water." The city Gerro, the commentator on Pliny remarks, is placed by Ptolemy between Pelusium and Mount Casius. "These roads all lead to Arsinoë, (Arsinoën ducunt,) built in the name of his sister on the gulf Charandra by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who first brought to light the country of the Troglodytes, (Troglodyticen excussit,) and called the stream which flows before Arsinoë (amnem qui Arsinoën præfluit) Ptolemæan. Then comes the city Ænnus, for which some write Philotera." The Elanitic Gulf mentioned by Pliny is the modern Gulf of Akabah, and the Æant the Gulf of Suez. The position of Heroöpolis is the same as that indicated by Strabo. As to the founder of the great canal, the statement of Pliny as well as that of Strabo is easily reconciled with that of Herodotus and Diodorus; while the final completion of the canal is attributed to the same Ptolemy. The mention of the precise difference of level between the Red Sea and the general surface of the soil of Egypt, indicates that a *measurement* had been made, which could easily have been effected, when a canal from the Nile and another from the Red Sea entered the Bitter Lakes; and the measurement indicated by Pliny we shall soon see is doubtless near the truth. The fact that the three routes from Ptolemais (modern Acre) to the gulf lead to Arsinoë, indicates that its position was near though not at the head of the gulf; as does also the mention that the stream called Ptolemæan *flowed before Arsinoë*. The *flowing* of the stream also indicates the *difference of level* already mentioned.

From the two volumes entitled *Itineraria Antonini* some aid may be derived in fixing the important localities in the land of ancient Goshen. These tables of distances between military posts in the Roman empire have been accredited to different ages,—to the reign of Augustus, and again of Antoninus Pius, and finally to a writer of the fourth century; but their correctness is undoubted. The following items are selected from the quotations given by the French savans.*

* The writer could not obtain access to the *Itineraria*.

One table reads :—

Babylon to Heliu, - - - - -	12 M. P.
Heliu to Scenæ Veteranorum, - - - - -	18 "
Scenæ Veteranorum to Vicus Judæorum, - - - - -	12 "
Vicus Judæorum to Tohum, or Thou, - - - - -	12 "
Tohum (Thou) to Heroöpolis, - - - - -	23 "
Heroöpolis to Serapium, - - - - -	18 "
Serapium to Clysma, - - - - -	50 "

Another table gives the following :—

Serapium to Thaubastum, - - - - -	8 M. P.
Thaubastum to Selæ, - - - - -	28 "
Selæ to Magdolum, - - - - -	12 "
Magdolum to Pelusium - - - - -	12 "

A third table adds the following :—

Pelusium to Daphnæ, - - - - -	16 M. P.
Daphnæ to Tasacarta, - - - - -	18 "
Tasacarta to Thou, - - - - -	24 "
Thou to Scenæ Veteranorum, - - - - -	26 "
Scenæ Veteranorum to Heliu, - - - - -	14 "
Heliu to Memphis, - - - - -	24 "

The Roman mile (mil. passuum) is 1,600 yards, 160 yards (or one tenth) less than the English mile. The French engineers of Napoleon, guided by their accurate measurements, fixed on the following as the modern representatives of these ancient sites : Memphis was at Mitrâheny ; Babylon at Old Cairo ; Heliopolis (Heliu) at Matarîyeh ; Scenæ Veteranorum at Menair, (or Menayeh ;) Vicus Judæorum at some ruins about three miles south-west of Belbeis ; Thou at Abbaseh ; Heroöpolis at Abou Kesheid, (Tell el-Mushootah ;) Serapium at some ruins on the west of the Bitter Lakes ; Clysma at Tell Kolzum, if the route were winding, or if straight, at Ayin Moussa ; Thaubastum at some ruins near Birket Tamsah ; Selæ at Selahîyeh ; Magdolum at some ruins south of Pelusium ; Pelusium at Tineh ; Daphnæ at Tell Defenneh ; and Tasacarta about five miles south of Selahîyeh. The two distances mentioned between Scenæ Veteranorum and Heliopolis (one fourteen and the other eighteen Roman miles) are reconciled by supposing the latter to be the distance during the season of the Nile's overflow, when a circuit to the east of Birket el-Haji must be made. These facts and conclusions are of great value in determining many interesting points of Biblical geography.

The celebrated astronomer and geographer *Ptolemy*, who lived and wrote in Egypt in the second century after Christ,

furnishes valuable data in reference to the interesting portion of his native land now under consideration. The positions of the following places may be noted :—

	Long.	Lat.
Alexandria, - - - - -	60° 30'	31° 0'
Tanitic mouth of the Nile, - - - - -	63 30	31 15
Pelusiæ " " - - - - -	63 45	31 10
Pelusium, - - - - -	63 15	31 15
Arsinoë, - - - - -	63 20	29 10
Clysma præsidium, - - - - -	63 20	28 50
Tanis, - - - - -	62 45	30 50
Phaccusa, - - - - -	63 10	30 50
Bubastis, - - - - -	63 5	30 40
Onii, - - - - -	62 30	30 10
Babulis, - - - - -	62 15	30 0
Heliopolis, - - - - -	62 30	29 30
Memphis, - - - - -	61 50	29 50
Heroum civitas, - - - - -	63 10	30 0

Of the last named city, Heroöpolis, Ptolemy says, "Per hanc et Babylonem amnis Trajanus fluit,"—"through this and Babylon the Trajan river flows;" the great canal having been extended probably to Babylon by Trajan, and bearing then his name. By "Babulis" is doubtless meant Babylon; and by Onii (which Ptolemy mentions as the metropolis of the Heliopolite province of Egypt) is meant the *Onion*, which Josephus describes as the site of the great Jewish temple in Egypt, whose position the French engineers, guided by Josephus's account, fixed at the famed *Tell el-Yehood*. The latitudes and longitudes determined by Ptolemy are generally allowed to vary from strict accuracy: his longitudes, because the number of miles allowed for a degree was not conformed to the figure of the earth, then unknown; and his latitudes, because the astronomical observations on which they are based were made in the infancy of the science. Yet the calculations of Ptolemy were *sufficiently* accurate to decide the *comparative* and *approximate* position of the localities described. And thus they are of incalculable value in determining many points of Biblical geography.

The French savans of Napoleon have cited in their great work several Arabian authors on Egypt; and from their translations a few extracts are selected. *Aljergan*, an Arabian astronomer and geographer who flourished about A. D. 828, says: "The canal of Trajan, as in precise terms Ptolemy calls it, is the same as that which has been named *el-Khalig Emîr el-Moumenîn*, (the canal of the Prince of the Faithful.) For Omar, as is said in the history of the war of Egypt, ordered that this canal, then filled with sand, should be

opened, in order to transport provisions to Medina and Mecca, which were desolated by famine." These cities had just then sprung up in the wilds of Arabia, through the influence of the new religion of Mahomet; and becoming rapidly populated, famine naturally ensued. The opening of the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea by the *pious* Omar, the *Prince of the Faithful*, afforded a water communication almost to the walls of the city of the Prophet. *Makryzy*, the most esteemed Arabian historian, born at Cairo about A. D. 1359, who wrote a geography and history of Egypt, narrates: "The name of the prince who for the second time opened this canal is the [Roman] Emperor Adrian, although that prince only finished the canal commenced under the auspices of Trajan. Now when the Almighty granted Islamism to mankind, and Amrou the son of Ass made the conquest of Egypt, that general, after the order of Omar the son of Khatthâb, Prince of the Faithful, employed himself in re-excavating the canal in the year of the famine. He extended it to the sea of Kolzum, whence vessels sailed to Hhedjâz, Yemen, and India. It was passable until the time when Mohammed, the son of Abdallah, the son of Hhassan, the son of Hössein, the son of Aly, the son of Aby-Thâlab, revolted in the city of the Prophet against Abou-Djâfar Abdallah, the son of Mohammed âl-Mansour, the khalif of Irak. That sovereign wrote to his lieutenant, and ordered him to fill up the canal of Kolzum, in order that it might not serve for the transport of provisions to Medina. This order was executed, and all communication with the sea of Kolzum was interrupted. Since then the canal has remained in the state in which we now see it." This closing of the canal occurred about A. D. 767; so that it had remained open under the Mohammedan khalifs about 150 years. *Abou el-Feda*, (or Aboulfeda,) the famed Arabian traveller and geographer, who lived about A. D. 1325, makes this mention: "Kolzum is a small city situated on the shore of the sea of Yemen, at the northern extremity, on the border of Egypt. Fâroun was drowned in its vicinity." The same locality for the destruction of the ancient Pharaoh is mentioned by several other Arabian authors of note.

We come to the invaluable investigations of the French savans of Napoleon, made in the years 1798-1800, and recorded in their great work, "*Description de l'Égypte*," which was originally published at a subscription price of 5,000 francs, (\$1,000.) The prime object of Napoleon, in his effort to wrest from the weak Turkish power their distant province of Egypt, undoubtedly was, to re-open the ancient canal com-

munication from Suez to Alexandria, to establish a French line of commerce with the Indies through Egypt, and thus to thwart England in her monopoly of the East India trade, and if possible drive her from the rich field. This object Le Père, the chief engineer of Napoleon, assures his Emperor could have been accomplished, could he but have retained possession of the country so brilliantly though unjustifiably seized. Immediately after the memorable battle of the Pyramids, on the 24th Dec., 1798, Napoleon, with characteristic restlessness of enterprise, hurried off in company with his topographical corps on a forced march from Cairo to Suez. Several weeks were spent in investigations in reference to the harbors and the navigation of the Red Sea in the vicinity of Suez; after which the party proceeded northward under a strong military escort along the line of the ancient canal, chaining and levelling and making minute scientific and antiquarian researches as they went. There is a mingling of the tragic and the comic in the history of their protracted labors; annoyed as they were by the raillery of the dissatisfied soldiers, who called the savans, from the Egyptian animals they rode, *asses*; misled often by the treachery of their Arab guides; and often also interrupted for months by the progress of the war. In the spring of 1799, when they were in the region of the Bitter Lakes, their work was interrupted by Napoleon's expedition into Syria, to meet the advancing Turkish army. It was renewed again in September of the same year, the party proceeding from Cairo, and prosecuting their work, until it was finally finished by an excursion in October of the same year, to mark the extent of the inundation; which, being unusually high that year, had broken into and overflowed the valley of the canal. The following are the water levels determined by the French engineers:—

High water in the *Red Sea*, at Suez, is the unit of their measurement.

Low water in the *Red Sea*, at Suez, is 5 feet 6 inches 9 lines *below* that level.

Low water in the *Nile*, at Cairo, is 14 feet 2 inches 9 lines *below* that level.

Low water in the *Mediterranean Sea*, at Tineh, is 30 feet 6 inches *below* that level.

The *Nile* at Cairo during the *inundation* (taken in 1798) is 9 feet 1 inch 3 lines *above* that level.

In all the statements of the level at different points hereafter made, the Red Sea at *high water* is made the standard.

Babylon, Heliopolis, Onion, and other points in the Goshen of Scripture, were established by careful measurement. From Abbaseh, an Arab village at the mouth of the eastern valley, their course to the Red Sea requires special note. They describe the ruins just west of Abbaseh, (see pp. 155-6,*) and regard them as the site of Tohum or Thou in the Itinerary of Antonine. They allude to the Birket el-Haji el-Khadim, (the Ancient Pool of the Pilgrims,) this having been the ancient point of departure of the Mohammedan pilgrims for Mecca, as the Birket just north of Heliopolis is the modern one. At Abbaseh a dyke of earth is stretched across the mouth of the valley, to prevent the water of the Nile at the time of inundation from extending up into the valley. The level of the soil of Egypt in this vicinity is about 20 feet below the Red Sea, and therefore about 5 feet below the Nile at low water.† At the distance of 6,530 French *pas*‡ (about 3 miles) east of Abbaseh in the valley was a mound, with some crude brick ruins, called Tell el-Kebîr.§ At 19,430 *pas* (about 9 miles) farther east they found a well call Beer Ras el-Wady; in the vicinity of which was a large grove of palm-trees and a mound of crude brick ruins, the remains of a deserted Arab village, (see p. 157.) At 7,762 *pas* (about 3½ miles) farther east was a second large dyke of earth thrown across the valley from north to south, having the same design as that at Abbaseh, and probably built at a different period. The valley from Abbaseh up to this point bore the name of Wady Toumylât, (see p. 157,) from a tribe who were inhabiting it, by whom patches of it were cultivated. This valley, they say, is about 14,000 *toises* (16 miles) long, and about 1,000 *toises* (1½ miles) broad. The general surface of this valley is about 15 feet below the Red Sea, and therefore is about on a level with the Nile at low water. But at the point called by them Ras el-Wady, the engineers mark the depression as 33 feet 2 inches and 8 lines below the

* Christian Review, March, 1849.

† A note of the writer's journal was inadvertently omitted at p. 155,—that at Abbaseh the water in the canal was 4 or 5 feet *above* the soil.

‡ The engineers state that east of Mouqfar their measurements with the chain were taken in the newly introduced *metres*; but west of that point they employed the old "*pas ordinaires*," or common *pace*. They state that they reckoned 65 *pas* as 50 *metres*. The French *metre* is 3 feet 3 inches English measure. The reduction can thus be easily made.

§ The position of Tell el-Kebeer mentioned p. 155 is thus confirmed. The village called Ras el-Wady which now stands on the mound did not exist when the French engineers were in Egypt. It has evidently had its origin and derived its rapid growth from the opening of the canal to this point by Mohammed Ali, about thirty years since; great quantities of produce now going out by this channel to Suez.

Red Sea, or about 19 feet below the Nile at low water. The accuracy of this measurement was confirmed when, in October, 1800, the inundation of the Nile broke through the dyke at Abbaseh and filled the valley. At that central point the water was 25 feet, or more, in depth; and as the inundation subsided the valley was left full like a basin. The Arabs said that there was no way of draining it, and that it would not be removed by evaporation so that they could sow until the next summer; though the usual sowing time is January or February.* Eastward from the dyke the valley was called Wady Seba Bîr, (The Valley of the Seven Wells.) At 4,680 *pas* (about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles) east of the dyke, they mention a place called *Terebasseh el-Yehood*, on the north side of the canal; and the valley for some distance both east and west of this point they describe as filled with brushwood.† At 7,899 *pas* (about $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles) farther east they came to the extensive mound of ruins called *Abou Kesheid*. They describe the mound as composed of the debris of crude bricks with fragments of granite and sandstone. The three seated statues cut from one block of granite they regarded as an Egyptian deity attended by two priests.‡ Their measurements compared with the Itinerary of Antonine confirmed this site to be that of the ancient Heroöpolis. Of this site M. du Bois Aymé, an eminent member of the corps, says: "Heroöpolis appears to be the city which is designated in the Bible under the name *Pithom*; there exists a Coptic version of the Greek text, where they translate *Heroöpolis* by *Pithom*. Very many learned men, led by the analogy which they find between *Pithom* and *Patumos*, have thought these two names designate also the same city. It is certain that the Greeks altered considerably the names of foreign countries, by giving them almost always a Greek termination. Moreover Herodotus relates that the canal, which conducts the waters of the Nile to the Red Sea, empties into that

* These facts (as well as others yet to be cited) fully solve the difficulty of Dr. Robinson as to the accuracy of the French measurements, (Bib. Recherches, vol. I. p. 548.) It is hardly conceivable that measurements conducted by such men, with such care, should fail in accuracy; especially in view of the fact that they confirm the opinion and demonstration of all the ancients.

† Concealed by this very thicket of brushwood is the sweet Birket el-Massemme and the neighboring Tell el-Tarbee, (pp. 158-9.) These escaped the notice of the engineers and were evidently concealed by their guides; for, on their first excursion from Suez, the water of the party failed near the Bitter Lakes, and they rode ten hours, parched with thirst, through the whole length of the valley, to Beer Ras el-Wady, their guides declaring there was no water nearer.

‡ (See p. 160.) The first step towards the deciphering of hieroglyphics had not been taken when the French engineers visited this spot; for during Napoleon's expedition, the famed Rosetta stone, which has served as a key to their interpretation, was found. The merest tyro would now recognize at once Remeses the Great and his two consorts, in the statues of the now called Tell Mushootah.

sea near Patumos; and we have seen that Heroöpolis was a short distance from the region which the sea has abandoned.* They remark that the valley here becomes much narrower. At 8,919 *pas* (about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles) farther east they found a small ruin on the north of the canal called Mouqfar, or more fully Mouqfar be-kimân, ("concealed in sand.") Here lay several large blocks, evidently fragments of what was a large building, designed, as the engineers supposed, as a *custom-house* or *dépôt*. At 4,040 *metres* (about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles) still east is the spot specially designated *Seba Bîr*, which gives name to the valley from Wady Tumylât to Sheikh Henady. Of this spot they remark that there are no wells; but "there are found here some sources of water very salt." The valley of Seba Bîr thus far, they describe as covered with shrubs and bushes and frequented by roving shepherd Arabs, during the rains of winter. From this point the traces of the canal were lost, but they were discovered again at the distance of 6,700 *metres* (about 4 miles) in a south-east direction; and at 1,560 *metres* (about 1 mile) east, the main canal was found to take a course more directly south-east, while a branch ran off in an easterly direction 2,000 *metres*, (about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles.)† At the extremity of this branch is a mound of ruins which the engineers regarded as the site of ancient *Thaubastum*. Near these ruins vestiges of a branch canal running northward are seen.‡ At 3,980 *metres* (about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles) farther south-east is an eminence on whose top stands an Arab tomb called Sheikh Henady. Here is a gradual rise of the sands of the desert, forming a line of heights from 20 to 40 feet above the level of the Red Sea. These heights form a natural termination of the valley on the east, similar to the ridges along its northern and southern sides. Up to this natural barrier the waters of the inundation of 1800 extended. At 3,520 *metres* still south-east is a mound of ruins south-west of the canal about 900 feet in diameter, having upon it the ruins of a large circular edifice.§ This mound the engineers regarded as the site of

* "Memoire sur les Anciennes Limites de la Mer Rouge." In an *appendix* to this Memoir Du Bois Aymé expresses a different opinion, saying, "It is more probable that the city named *Pithom* by the Hebrews was that which the Greeks call *Patoumos*, and the Romans *Thoum*. These three names differ in effect only by the Greek termination, and by the presence or absence of the Egyptian article Δ ." This latter view is evidently based, however, on a wrong construction of the Hebrew Δ , while it is directly opposed to the views of his companion, the author of the "Essay on Ancient Geography," and of the translator of Herodotus.

† It was just at this point that the writer regained the canal, having wandered from it between Abou Kesheid and Mouqfar. See p. 161.

‡ Probably the same now seen by travellers near Selahiyeh.

§ In the *simoom* which was blowing at the time of passing it, this mound was overlooked by the writer. See p. 163.

ancient *Serapium*; the distance from Heroöpolis agreeing nearly with that indicated by the Itinerary of Antonine. The circular edifice they supposed might have been a temple of Serapis. Here the ancient canal terminated in the bed of the Bitter Lakes. This bed they describe as extending from near the head of the Gulf of Suez to far north of Birket Temsah. Most of this bed is dry; but at many points is presented just the appearance described, pp. 163-5. The famed *Birket Temsah* is not strictly a lake, but a narrow girdle of water and quicksand surrounding a broad table of crystal and salt. The French engineers had read Diodorus, and they did not venture on one of these treacherous spots. The lowest point in the bed of these lakes, of which the level was taken, was 54 feet 3 inches 2 lines below the Red Sea.* The general name by which the Arabs designated the entire line of these lakes was *Bahr el-Temsah*, (the Sea of the Crocodile,) the *Birket Temsah* being only the single lake, so called, near Sheikh Henady; also *Bahr Choe'yb*,† (the Ancient Sea.) Across this *sea* in Ptolemy's day the canal boats crossed a distance of 53,166 metres (about 32½ miles) in a south-easterly direction. At the south-east corner of the bed of the Bitter Lakes the traces of the canal recommenced. The bed of the canal, here commencing again, is 15 feet 3 inches below the Red Sea; from which the rise in the *lock* of Ptolemy can be easily estimated. In the centre of the canal at this point is "a kind of islet," (une espèce d'îlot.) The engineers say: "It is at this point that the canal must have commenced which Ptolemy II. opened from the Bitter Lakes to the Arabian Gulf; at the bottom of which (au fond du quel) was built the city of *Arsinoë* or *Cleopatris*." In another place they say of *Arsinoë*: "We believe that city stood on the heights and the ruin now found at the head of the Gulf of Suez; to the foot of which heights the sea yet extends during high tides."‡

* This fact, in connection with the proved fact that Herodotus and probably Strabo called the line of the *Bitter Lakes*, when filled with water from the *Nile*, the *sea*, (as the Arabs do now though it is *dry*,) explains the apparent contradiction suggested by Dr. Robinson, vol. I. p. 548.

† The same name by which the great valley is now called. See p. 157.

‡ These ruins are placed on their chart about a mile north of the head of the gulf, and perhaps three miles east of the line of the canal. The allusions of Strabo and Pliny, however, indicate that *Arsinoë* was close by the canal and near its northern extremity. Ptolemy places *Arsinoë* 20 minutes of latitude north of *Clysma*, (Tell Kolzum;) which indicates nearly the same position. Why may not the ruins at the head of the gulf be the *Cleopatris* of Strabo, and the fine ruins at *Shaloófah Trobah* (see pp. 165-6) be the site of *Arsinoë*? This site, though overlooked by the French engineers, cannot be far from the canal, nor more than two or three miles from its

This branch of the canal they traced 21,656 metres (about $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles) to a point on the west of the gulf 2,270 metres (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) north of Suez, or about 2 miles south of the head of the gulf where the vestiges of the canal are usually seen. Its course on their large chart is, for about three fourths of this distance, nearly S. 2 points E.; when for the remaining fourth it bends S. 1 point W. It passes over a sandy plain, which gradually rises from 15 feet 3 inches *below* the sea until very near the gulf it reaches about 2 feet 6 inches *above* the sea, to which it then more rapidly declines. The banks of the canal yet remaining indicate the correctness of this gradation; the embankments at the northern extremity (or at the Bitter Lakes) rising to the height of 8 or 10 feet.

After the French investigations the enterprising German traveller Seetzen penetrated this region in 1810; but the only details of his journey, which the writer has been able to obtain, are found in the brief notice taken of it in a note of Dr. Robinson, (vol. I. p. 548.) At the time of Seetzen's journey the work of the French savans had hardly been made public. The name for the great eastern valley, "*Šho'aib*," is the same as that now current, (see p. 157.)

From all that has now been adduced the ancient land of *Goshen* appears to have comprised the rich portion of the Delta between the Tanitic and Pelusiac branches of the Nile, and east of the latter branch to the region of Heliopolis, adapted to either tillage or grazing; including also the long, narrow eastern valley suited only for occasional pasturage.

The position assigned by the French savans to *Pithom* has much to strengthen it. The eastern extremity of this valley, even before the construction of the canal, was a natural position for a fortress. The fact that it is but once alluded to in the writings of Moses indicates a distant and little frequented position. The *Patumos* of the Persians in Herodotus's day has been generally regarded the same in name, and might naturally be the before obscure fortress built up into a flourishing city by the demands of the canal. Naturally too might the old Egyptian name (never alluded to by any writer after Herodotus) have been usurped by the Grecian title, "*City of the Heroes*," under the Ptolemies. The authority of the Coptic version alluded to by the French savans must have great weight also in deciding the identity of Pithom and Heroöpolis. Champollion seems to have been the first to suggest the

northern terminus. Its direction (about north two points west from Suez) indicates this, as also its distance, (five hours by the camel, or about twelve miles;) while its position seems to harmonize well with all the ancient accounts of Arsinoë.

identity of Pithom with the *Tohum* of the Itinerary of Antonine, whose position must have been at modern Abbaseh. This opinion was based principally on the hypothesis that the P is the Egyptian article. The form of the Hebrew word, however, seems to conflict with this supposition. The Hebrew Scriptures generally (if not always) indicate the presence of the Egyptian article by writing it *separate* from the nomen, and as a prefix; for example, פִּי-הַחֵירוֹת Pi-hahiroth, and פִּי-בִּסְתָּ Pi-Beseth; whereas *Pithom* is written פִּתּוֹם. Champollion also placed the Patumos of Herodotus here; evidently an erroneous position; considering the two names identical, as do all authorities. Hengstenberg falls into a series of errors in arguing this site; saying, (Egypt and the Books of Moses,) "Thum (Thou) was 12 Roman miles distant from Heroöpolis,"—rather 23 Roman miles; and again, "If, with the scholars who accompanied the French expedition, we place Pithom on the site of the present Abbaseh,"—whereas they place Pithom at *Abou Kesheid*. There is however this difficulty, perhaps not an insuperable one, that the Greek translators of the Pentateuch, although they mention Heroöpolis twice, yet do not make it identical with Pithom, but rather transfer that name thus, "Πεδο." Still another objection is that the Patumos of Herodotus was at the extremity of the canal *by the sea*. Why may we not suppose that the Coptic version alluded to, states the *approximate* position of Jacob's encampment; the Greek translators intending to do *no more*? Pithom or Patumos then may have been at Mouqfar, or even the more eastern site which the French engineers regarded as ancient Thaubastum. At any rate, everything seems to conspire to fix its position somewhere on the canal near the bed of the Bitter Lakes.

The inquiry as to the position of *Rameses* is a more difficult, as well as more important one. Common opinion has lately placed it at Abou Kesheid or Heroöpolis. The chief, if not the only ground for this hypothesis seems to have been the mistaken idea that the Greek translators make them the same; while, as we have seen, they *ever* make them *different*. It is a just if not a necessary inference therefore that they were different cities. Still more, it is evident that no large city like Heroöpolis could have grown up in the Desert valley until the canal was cut; and the Sesostris (or Remeses the Great) who did this, as Wilkinson, the best authority on this point, has shown, ascended the throne 1335 B. C., or 136 years after the Exodus. It is a confirmation alike of Wilkinson's chronology and of the argument here urged, that the

sole remaining monument of that interesting ruin now bears the name of Remeses the Great. It is yet farther worthy of note, that the whole circumstances of Jacob's approach to Egypt and halt at this point indicate that the valley was at his day unpeopled; the Greek translators merely intending to say that Jacob encamped *near* where Heroöpolis *afterwards* was built. Another consideration of even more weight arises. If *Rameses* is at Heroöpolis, where can *Succoth* have been? and, still more, where *Etham*? This is a question that will press itself with peculiar force on one passing through this valley. A few miles east of Abou Kesheid the traveller issues from the bushy vale into the waste howling wilderness where no vestige of human structure can be or could ever have been found. And yet the Israelites in their hasty journey came at the end of the *first* day to "*Succoth*," the place of *booths*, and at the end of the *second* day to the "*edge of the wilderness*."

Long and careful consideration, commenced on the spot, has convinced the writer that the position of Rameses must have been at or near the modern village of *Abbaseh*. The facts which have led to this conclusion are in the main the following: *First*, the site is one of the most *ancient* in the whole region. Its *position* indicates this; this being the *outlet* through which all travel and trade from this rich section of Egypt must have gone out eastward,—a point where from the earliest period of the settlement of the country a city was needed. The *mound* itself speaks of its antiquity; for while at every other one of the line of ancient canal towns granite remains are found, on the large Tell at Abbaseh *alone* not a vestige of stone is seen above the surface. The *peculiar tradition* also of its very great antiquity (see p. 155) is not without its importance. *Second*, this is the *only ancient* site near this natural focus of strength. Tell Soft on the west and Tell el-Tarbee on the east are each several miles from the natural *head of the valley*, while at the same time they are much less ancient than the mound near Abbaseh. *Third*, in all the region there is not so appropriate a location for a "*treasure city*." From the country farther south the route of commerce is through Belbeis by Wady Agrood to Suez. But (as I was assured by many of the people of the district, as well as by Tûaileb and other sheiks of the Desert) the whole of the rich products of the richest province of Egypt (the Shurkiyeh district) go out to the Red Sea and thence to the far East *by Abbaseh*, and thence along the valley of the canal. The present town *Ras el-Wady* has been made the

artificial *head of the valley* from the accidental fact that Mohammed Ali's reopening of the canal terminated at that point. *Fourth*, this was the most natural *gathering point* (Exod. xii. 37, and Num. xxxiii. 3, 5) for the Israelites in commencing their journey to Sinai. Dwelling as the mass of them evidently did westward and northward and southward of the head of the valley, the valley itself was as now the only practicable outlet for them in leaving the country, and the *head* of the valley at Abbaseh was the natural, the safe and convenient rally point. To have collected farther east (and Josephus intimates that they were gathering some time before their departure) must have awakened the suspicions of the king; but *this* point was within (west of) Zoan, Pharaoh's capital. (Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43.) To have gathered farther east, also, they must have *passed* the outlet at Abbaseh; and to have rendezvoused in the Desert would have placed them beyond the reach of the supplies which the market at the head of the valley has ever richly furnished. *Fifth*, this position and this alone *comports with subsequent statements* as to the Israelites' journey. Moses's message from God to Pharaoh was that he should allow the people to go "three days' journey into the wilderness" and worship, (Exod. iii. 18, and viii. 27.) In accordance with this we read, that at the end of the *second day* they reached and encamped in "*the edge of the wilderness*," (Exod. xiii. 20; Num. xxxiii. 6.) Now along the whole line of the Delta the wilderness comes up *quite to the very edge* of the cultivatable land, with this *single exception*. About 25 miles north of On, and near the centre of the eastern border of ancient Goshen, there is a fissure in the limestone cliffs that everywhere skirt the land of Egypt, forming a narrow gorge running eastward to the bed of the Bitter Lakes. In this valley, about 30 or 40 miles long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide, the rains of winter collect, and into it the inundation of the Nile occasionally extends, causing it to be covered with bushes and scanty herbage. At its eastern border the desert waste skirts it, as it does all Egypt. There is no other position for *Rameses* except *Abbaseh* on the whole eastern border of Egypt which can be made to accord with Moses's account of the journey from Rameses to Etham.

The position of *Succoth* has not been fixed, and cannot be on any other supposition than that Rameses was at Abbaseh. The unanimous testimony of the Arabs is that nowhere along the whole border of Egypt is there any *green spot* east of the Delta, *except* in the valley of the canal. Near the centre of this is a fine lake of sweet water, surrounded by a cultivated

border called "*Wady el-Heesh*," the *Bushy Vale*; and about it the Arabs live in "booths," called *êshah* or *hêshah*, (see pp. 158-9.) The Arabs universally say, that the route always followed from the Shurkîyeh district of Egypt to Suez runs just south of this lake. The name of the place also, and its character, correspond well with the "*Succoth*" (*booths*) of Moses. The French engineers found a bushy place on the canal, not half a mile south of this lake, called *Terebasseh el-Yehood*, (from רבצ *rebets*, both Hebrew and Arabic,) the *encamping place of the Jews*. The distance to the lake, by the writer's somewhat winding route from Abbaseh, was 10 hours by the camel, or about 23 miles; and the direct measurement by the French engineers was 38,402 *pas*, or about 18½ miles; a natural day's journey for a caravan travelling hastily.

The position of *Etham* may perhaps now be approximately fixed. The name *Etham* is generally allowed to be composed of two words, (alike in the Egyptian and Hebrew; see Gesenius's Lexicon,) meaning the border of the sea. The supposition is a natural one that the bed of the Bitter Lakes was called the *Sea* by the ancient Egyptians and Hebrews, as it was when filled with water by the Greeks and Romans, and as it is, though now dry, by the Arabs. Moses also twice mentions that their encampment at Etham was on "*the edge of the wilderness*." There is no position which can answer these two conditions except the *eastern extremity of the valley of the canal*. In rendering Exod. xiii. 20, the Greek translators transfer the word Etham, "ἐν Ὀθαμ παρὰ τὴν ἔρημον"; but in Numb. xxxiii. 6 and 7 they write, "εἰς Βουθὰν, ὃ ἐστὶ μέρος τι τῆς ἐρήμου"; and again, "ἐκ Βουθὰν." It would hence appear that in the times of the Ptolemies, a town had grown up (or a province been formed) in the region of the Bitter Lakes called *Bouthan*. Though no *particular* site may be fixed on perhaps for Bouthan, yet the encampment of the Jews is thus limited to the *end of the valley*, about which all the ruins in that region are found. To the eminence called *Sheikh Henady*, a little north of where the ancient canal entered the bed of the Bitter Lakes, and the extreme eastern point of the valley, the distance from Terebasseh el-Yehood was by the French measurements 16,808 *pas* and 16,280 *metres*, (about 18 miles;) a natural day's journey. The only objection to supposing an encampment here is that there is now no fountain of water in the vicinity, without which the flocks and herds could hardly pass a night. But as before suggested the eastern extremity of this valley must from the earliest times have been a natural position for one or more

fortresses, *Pithom* probably being somewhere in the region ; and as the Egyptians seem not to have engaged in hostilities against the Israelites until they afterwards lay encamped by the sea, from such an Egyptian fortress needed water might be procured.

The position of *Pi-Hahiroth* and *Migdol* and *Baal-Zephon*, between which the Israelites next encamped by the sea, is a yet more interesting question. A view of the nature of the country before them may aid, however, in arriving at a probable conclusion. The natural and nearest route from the *eastern end of the valley*, where the Israelites pitched their second camp, to Mount Sinai, is to cross the bed of the Bitter Lakes in a direction a little south of east, and then proceed over the plain along the foot of Mount Mūkh-shābe. An easy day's journey would have brought the Israelites, following their direct route, to the foot of this range of mountains, which extends south to *er-Rahah*, and so on east of the Red Sea ; and the third night they might have encamped by any one of the many fountains along the foot of those rocky heights, (see p. 163.) Information gathered on the spot and afterwards from Sheikh Tûaileb by the writer confirms this view. At their second encampment, however, the direction came from God to Moses, "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they *turn* and encamp before Pi-Hahiroth," &c., (Exodus xiv. 2.) The common opinion, that the Israelites *in this turn* came down *through Wady Agrood* to the sea, never for a moment could be entertained by any one favored to view the ground. The western point of Gebel Gennafe (or Hamed Tāher as the French found it called, and as Tûaileb says it is yet also called) runs so far westward that two or three days would be required, *without any object* gained too, to make the circuit ; and even from *Abbaseh*, as the Arabs declare, it would be a circuitous route to cross the Desert to the Belbeis road through Wady Agrood. The universal business route from the Shūrkiyeh district to Suez runs along the western edge of the bed of the Bitter Lakes, and between this bed and the eastern point of Gebel Gennāfe, (see p. 165.) The flocks and herds of the Israelites must have perished for want of water in making the circuit supposed ; and it is worthy of note that the trial of their faith proposed is not a long roundabout journey through the Desert, but an encampment between *three Egyptian fortresses*. The approach then to the sea was evidently by the present Suez route.

Where now "by the sea" are the *three* Egyptian for-

tresses, "*Pi-Hahiroth*, *Baal-Zephon*, and *Migdol*"? At no point can they be looked for, except at the head of the gulf. At this point there must in the earliest ages have been a call for them. The warlike hordes of Arabia, ever the dreaded scourge of Egypt, turning the head of the gulf, could penetrate to the rich Delta between Mount Gennāfe and the Bitter Lakes, to the neighborhood of Memphis through Wady Agrood, or to the neighborhood of Thebes between Mount Atākah and the sea. The Tell at Shaloofah Trōbah marks a fortress at the first point, Kulat Agrood at the second, and Tell Kolzum at the third. May not the former be the site of *Pi-Hahiroth*? If the etymology of the name be Hebrew, it means the *mouth of the caverns*, or *of the country of the Horites*; and this derivation of the word the Greek translators seem to favor in Numbers xxxiii. 7, by rendering "before *Pi-Hahiroth*," by "ἐπὶ το στομα Εἰρωδ." If the etymology of the word is Egyptian, (which supposition Gesenius favors,) it is "a place where grass or sedge grows;" and this second characteristic of the position the same Greek translators give in rendering "before *Pi-Hahiroth*," in Exodus xiv. 2 and 9, by "ἀπέναντι τῆς ἐπαύλεως," "before the *stable* or *sleeping-place* of *flocks and herds*." The narrow pass between the mountain and the bed of the Bitter Lakes at *Shaloofah Trobah* is pre-eminently the *mouth* or *entrance to the country of the Horites* or *Desert Arabs*. The place is a general *camp-ground*; the camel-drivers who carry produce to Suez leaving the city on their return in the afternoon, so as to reach at night this point. For, the moisture and winter rains draining from the point of the mountain, have furnished here a slight soil which gives growth to a coarse shrubbery, and makes the place a favorite resort for Arab shepherds and camel-drivers. It is the natural position in every respect for the encampment of the Israelites; for pasturage was plenty, and water could have been obtained from the neighboring fortress *Pi-Hahiroth* before the Egyptian king's approach in pursuit. The distance from their last encampment would have been perhaps thirty miles or a little more,—a long journey indeed, but not an impossible one; for the camel-drivers now call it but *two* days' journey from Ras el-Wady to Suez.

The position of *Migdol* has by others been supposed to be at or near *Kulat Agrood*; and *Baal-Zephon* has also been referred to the site *Tell Kolzum*. The general argument urged by Dr. Robinson as to the point at which the Israelites must have crossed the sea, has the confirmation of the tradition recorded by the best Arabian authors, such as Abou

el-Feda and Ben-Ayâs. The crowning indication of the locality of that great event, given by Moses, that it was *from between the three Egyptian fortresses*, is one that can hardly be mistaken.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE MAP.

The map is in the main that of the French engineers of Napoleon.

The following lists, giving the names in the Hebrew, in the Greek or Roman geographers, and the modern names, may aid the reader. The first list is of those unquestioned.

Hebrew.	Greek Trans.	Arabic.
NOPH and MOPH.	<i>Memphis.</i>	Mitraheny.
ON.	<i>Heliopolis.</i>	Matariyeh.
PI-BESETH.	<i>Bubastis.</i>	Tell Basta.
ZOAN.	<i>Tanis.</i>	Sân.
TAHPANES.	<i>Daphnæ.</i>	Tell Defenneh.
MIGDOL.	<i>Magdolum.</i>	Ruins unnamed.
SIN.	<i>Pelusium.</i>	Tineh.

The second list is of those localities in which one or more of the links of connection must bear a mark of question; having more or less of probability according to the reader's personal convictions.

Hebrew.	Greek or Roman.	Arabic.
RAMESES. (?)	<i>Tohum or Thou.</i>	Abbaseh.
SUCCOTH.		Terebasseh el-Yehood. (?)
PITHOM.	<i>Patumos.</i>	Mouqfar. (?)
ETHAM.	<i>Bouthan, (Thaubastum. (?))</i>	Near Sh. Henady. (?)
PI-HAHIROTH.	<i>Arsinoë. (?)</i>	Shaloofah Trôbah. (?)
MIGDOL.		Kulat Agrood. (?)
BAAL-ZEPHON. (?)	<i>Clysmæ.</i>	Tell Kolzum.

Two other localities in Egypt are mentioned in the Old Testament, the positions of which are unquestioned:—

Hebrew.	Greek Trans.	Arabic.
NO, AMON, and AMON-NO.	<i>Thebes.</i>	Karnac, Luxor, and Koorneh.
SYENE.	<i>Syene.</i>	Assouan.

As an illustration of the "five cities" mentioned by Isaiah, xix. 18, (though the number five may not be limited,) it may be mentioned that these five modern sites bear the general name "Tell el-Yehood;" *Tell el-Yehood, Tell el-Gerâd, Belbeis, Tell el-Habeeb, and Tell Basta.* The name *el-Gerâd* signifies *the Locust, or Destruction*; the *Arabic* being the same in form as the *Hebrew*.

The following Greek and Roman sites may be considered more or less fixed:—

Greek and Roman.	Arabic.	Greek and Roman.	Arabic.
<i>Babylon.</i>	Old Cairo.	<i>Heroôpolis.</i>	Abou Kesheid.
<i>Onion.</i>	Tell el-Yehood.	<i>Thaubastum.</i>	(ruins.)
<i>Phaccusa.</i>	Fâkous.	<i>Serapium.</i>	(ruins.)
<i>Sela.</i>	Selahiye.	<i>Cleopatris.</i>	(ruins.)

ART. V.—POPULAR LECTURING.

Lectures on Subjects Connected with Literature and Life. By E. P. WHIPPLE. Second Edition. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields.

Representative Men: Seven Lectures. By R. W. EMERSON. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co.

THE popular lecture is a species of literature of comparatively recent origin, and these volumes are among its first fruits. There have not been wanting, doubtless, in all ages, some who have devoted themselves with a truly nurse-like consecration to the business of "pouring the milk of science into the mouths of babes and sucklings;" but never till of late has this benevolent employment acquired the dignity of a distinct profession, and secured the services of a large corps of practitioners. Knowledge, through a long series of ages, has been undergoing a constant process of disintegration and dilution, till it has reached a fineness of parts and a feebleness of strength suited to the weakest stomachs. It is no longer, as in days of yore, in huge, crude masses, so that only now and then a famished cub, of human kind, could hope to swallow and digest it; but it has been carefully parcelled out into homœopathic doses, adapted to the most delicate organs of digestion—whether of men, women, or children.

Nor are we among those who look upon this simplification of knowledge as an evil. It may be regarded as such by those who would make knowledge a species of craft, to be confined to a particular caste. It may tend to diminish the relative pre-eminence of professional scholars, by elevating somewhat in the scale of intelligence the masses around them. It may even enfeeble the general type of scholarship, or rather the general tone of intellectual vigor in scholars, by making their path less rugged, and their task easier. But it is a great blessing after all. Indeed, this very facility of acquisition enables more to enter the lists, and thus introduces the stimulus of rivalry in place of the stimulus of obstacles, which it removes. Besides, it disenthralles knowledge, and leaves it to exert its legitimate influence. If knowledge is capable of simplification, as it undoubtedly is, it certainly should be simplified. It may fairly claim this service of its professors; nay, it is its natural and inevitable tendency. Observation,

study, thought, all tend to the more accurate discrimination of parts, the separation of elements, and the clearing up of difficulties. The first survey of any subject is necessarily general and superficial; but subsequent surveys penetrate deeper and deeper into its nature and essence, till it is resolved into its ultimate elements, and may then be presented in detail to others. Just as a landscape, at first view, presents to the eye only a confused mass of objects, which, on further observation, stand forth in their distinctive character, as hill and dale, tree and fence, earth and water. And the observer, having thus acquired a distinct conception of the elementary features of the scene, may in a few words point them out to others, and thus put them in possession of ideas which cost him repeated and long-continued observation and study. Thus it is with knowledge in general. It is constantly undergoing a series of simplifications under the observation and study of numerous laborers, which are taken up, popularized, and reported to the masses. And can any one reasonably object to this process? Nay, can any philanthropic mind fail to rejoice that it is ever going on, and, from the necessity of the case, must ever go on? If knowledge is a good, why should it not be diffused as widely as possible?

But we are more particularly concerned with that mode of simplifying knowledge which is presented in popular lecturing. In the present age the popular lecture occupies a very important sphere, and cannot properly be overlooked in estimating the influences at work in society. It clearly comes within the range of periodical literature, and forms a fitting subject for discussion in a critical and Christian Review. Popular lectures are either scientific or literary, but chiefly the latter. When scientific, their object is simply to report the facts or principles of science, in their most elementary, and often their most diluted form, in familiar language, and with appropriate and striking illustrations; and when literary, to present in a sprightly and attractive style such views of literature and life as are of common or universal interest. In this country they are mostly delivered in the winter season, before voluntary associations organized for the purpose, in nearly all our cities and larger villages, called Lyceums. They have grown up with the age, and are one of the evidences of its progress, since they presuppose the existence of some degree of knowledge in a community, and a commendable desire to acquire more of it. They presuppose also the existence of a spirit of freedom in a community, and flourish best where thought and its ex-

pression are under no restraint. There are probably more lectures annually delivered before promiscuous assemblies in this country than in all the world beside. They disappear, like everything else which is valuable, before the jealous censorship of despotism. Reason and experience both prove that the lecture, like the play, must be free in order to flourish. Perfect liberty alone can impart to it that freshness, variety, and comprehensiveness of topics, which will give it currency and enable it to meet the wants of men. Hired lecturers may be employed by despotism to stupefy the people with the stale nonsense of the divine rights or the hereditary rights of kings ; but how different such lectures from the free and racy lectures of our lyceums ! Open to all professions and classes of the community, reflecting all shades of ideas, and advocating all interests ; bold in speculation, prying into all subjects, earnest in tone and fresh in spirit, the popular lecture has come to be one of the most effective agencies in forming public opinion. Indeed, the lyceum may almost be considered as one of the institutions of the land ; and being such, let us inquire a little more particularly what position it occupies among our institutions.

The principal public institutions for the improvement of men, which have been long established and universally received in civilized society, are the Church and the School. To these the Lyceum has lately been added, though its claims have not yet been fully admitted, nor its relative rank fixed. Its position must be learned from its object. The object of the lyceum is to furnish to the community agreeable instruction, or, at the lowest, improving amusement. The idea of instruction is always predominant, and that of amusement only so far admitted as is necessary, under the circumstances, to make the instruction possible. It is always didactic. It always proposes to communicate some knowledge, to relate something, to describe something, or to discuss something. It always, however, proposes to do this in a popular way, and with such accompaniments of incident, of wit, or pleasantry, as to catch the attention and gain an easy admission for the instruction even to untrained minds. Still it rather proposes to teach everything in general, than anything in particular. It allows the utmost latitude of subjects, and almost every mode of treating them.

No person of sound views will venture, for a moment, to bring the lyceum into comparison with the church, as a beneficent institution to the public. This venerable institution, hoary with age and honors, stands confessedly at the

head of the benignant influences at work in society. Indeed, it is the mother of them all. Modelled by unerring wisdom, and charged with a divine message to man, it stands out distinctly and pre-eminently above all other instrumentalities employed for the improvement of society. Having its origin in the rude beginning of things, and gradually developed with the spread of our race, it has everywhere assumed the chief responsibility in the instruction and guidance of man through this world of sorrow and trial to a happier home on high. And it has everywhere proved itself equal to the task. It took our race in its infancy, and, confined to a single branch of the human family till it became thoroughly established in the earth, and thence reaching out its arms towards the other branches, it has gradually gathered in one nation after another, till it now promises, by the clearest indications, soon to embrace the whole race of man. And wherever its influence has extended, its course has been marked by light. Even the schoolboy may trace it upon his map. The bright lines of civilization are everywhere coincident with the borders of the Christian church. Whilst nations have risen and fallen, and thrones been established and overturned, through the depths of ages and amidst the wreck of human schemes of government and social reform, the church has held on her steady course, ever in the advance of society, and ever beckoning it on to higher purity and perfection. And it is just as much ahead of society now as it ever was. The petty schemes of human improvement which each age begets may work in co-operation with it, but in just so far as they are at variance with it, they must fail. No age has been more prolific in such schemes than the present, and none has put forward its claims to pre-eminence over the church with more confidence. "Great thinkers" are let fall upon the earth in these days, who have thought out systems much more plausible than that of the Bible, and projected institutions which are entirely to supersede the Christian church! Every petty reformer claims precedence of the established minister of the Word, and looks down upon him with pity, if not with contempt, as the expounder of obsolete ideas. Peace Societies, Temperance Societies, Abolition Societies, Mutual Relief Societies, and even Railroad Companies, are regarded by many as more efficient reformers than the church. We do not doubt that in their sphere much good may be done by such societies, but their claim to pre-eminence above the church is scarcely less than ludicrous. Some of them may survive the temporary causes which gave rise to them, and

be acknowledged as permanent blessings to man ; but we predict that the next generation, in reviewing the wondrous schemes of reform with which the age labors, will be compelled to say of most of them, with the caricaturist of the style of Dr. Johnson, "The parturient mountains brought forth muscicular abortions." But among these "abortions," we are persuaded, will not be reckoned the lyceum. It contains, we conceive, a permanent element of good, though it cannot by any means be ranked with the Christian church. Indeed, it has no very direct connection with religion, otherwise than, as it professes to impart knowledge on all subjects indifferently, it may touch upon this ; and as all true knowledge tends to virtue, may promote virtue by imparting instruction.

The lyceum too, as we conceive, is below the school, as a beneficent instrumentality to man. They both work, to be sure, in the same line, but in very different ways. The school is thorough, systematic, and continuous in its efforts, while the lyceum is superficial, discursive, and occasional. The school, in its various forms of college, gymnasium, academy, &c., is the great educational institution for society, and occupies about the same position in intellectual, as the church does in moral affairs. It is subordinate to the church, it is true, and owes its origin and chief support to it, and is really one of her instruments, but the most polished and effective at her command. It is the product of the concentrated wisdom of ages in all parts of the civilized world. Its organization extends through the whole community, embracing a gradation of schools adapted to all ages and capacities, sustained by immense contributions of wealth, and embodying in its books the results of the scientific labors of all time. The brightest and profoundest men in the community are engaged in conducting its affairs, to which they give their daily and nightly study and toil. Extending thus over the whole community, providing for the intellectual wants of all classes, furnished with the best books, men, and means for imparting knowledge the most successfully, and conducting its operations systematically and continuously through the year, how preposterous for any mere temporary means of information, addressing itself merely to the eye or ear, injecting knowledge into the mind, as it were, from without, or swathing it in, as in a cold-water sweat, to pretend to vie with the school in importance ! The tendency of the age in everything is to exaggeration. And because now and then some subordinate means of improvement is discovered,

which has not been employed by the established institutions, these institutions are at once condemned, and the newly discovered and more flashy arts are commended as far better fitted to occupy their place. Thus the lyceum lecture, having its proper place, and useful in its place, has been thrust forward by some shallow minds as a substitute for the drill of the school. According to this class of *illuminati*, the world is all wrong in the matter of education. There is no need of all this expenditure of time and toil and money in educating the mind! The venerable practices of drilling, flogging and screwing are but remnants of the dark ages, and should be immediately abandoned for lecturing and other gentler processes! Knowledge, instead of being beaten into men's heads, should be poured into their mouths by the spoonful! Thus, as in other cases, a thing good in itself is prejudiced with sound minds, from the exaggeration with which its claims are set forth. But abating all exaggeration, we look upon the popular lecture as of very considerable value for educational purposes. It is a sort of spoken review. It embodies the results of private study, condenses or selects from the views of others, reports the progress of science and the arts, and this in such a style and with such accompaniments as to secure the attention and apprehension of common minds. It thinks for those who will not think for themselves, and even reads to those who cannot read. It holds an important place, therefore, as an educational instrumentality, though not so high a one as is sometimes claimed for it.

But the lyceum, in its true position, is the antagonist of the theatre, not of the school, nor of the church. This is the only proper idea of it. It is a protest against the theatre. It had its origin in the desire to substitute something more wholesome in the place of the theatre. It looks upon human nature as it is, and endeavors to make the best of it. Those who cannot be attracted by the church or the school, it would at least keep from going to the devil. And there is a large class of such in every community—of persons whose characters are unformed, whose minds are unsteadied either by thought or devotion, but who float along with the current of things, the sport of every influence, the victims of every temptation. In this class are included most young persons, the hope of every community, who, full of life and animal spirits, must be interested in something, and if nothing improving presents itself, fall into sinful indulgences. With such the first step in the downward course is generally to the theatre, as this is at the same time the most pretending, the

most attractive, and the most respectable means of fashionable dissipation. The lyceum is antagonistic to all enticing pleasures, but is especially so to the theatre, because it works something in the same line. Both make use of thought and language as their instrument, though in very different ways; the one as the principal thing, and the other as a convenient medium for exhibiting persons and action. The idea of entertainment is subordinate in the lecture, but predominant in the play. The lecture is didactic, the play artistic; the lecture instructs, the play acts. With the mass, at least, the play derives its chief interest from the personation of character and action,—from the individual actors, their costumes, their movements, their attitudes and situations. The sentiment is but little heeded, which, besides, is not of a nature to impart useful knowledge. It addresses itself almost wholly to the eye, or the passions through the eye, and hence, by varying movements and scenery, may please all who have the power of seeing. Doubtless the play-house has produced some of the noblest specimens of literature in every language, and has left a possession for all ages in such dramas as *Hamlet*, the *Prometheus Bound*, and the *Clouds*; but the great mass of plays are of a very different character from these. The drama is like statuary or painting, it is susceptible of the highest degree of ideal representation and the lowest degree of vulgar imitation;—it may create from human elements something greater and more perfect than man, or represent with exaggerated prominence deformities, indecencies, and vulgarities, from which the veil should never be raised. Its character depends very much upon the audience. It is determined to please, at all hazards, and hence panders to the public taste, however depraved. Its great defect is that it has no middle ground of solid utility to rest upon. Its perfection consists in a high degree of ideality, which but few can appreciate, and hence it generally descends to low imitation, which the most vulgar can perceive and relish. And here, precisely, is the grand point of difference between the play and the popular lecture. The lecture would please as well as the play, but it would “please only to edification.” It rests ever on the solid middle ground of utility. It is necessarily didactic, and hence has but little scope for pandering. This alone is sufficient to make a strong line of distinction between the lyceum and the play-house.

But it is often objected to the lyceum, that it is entirely unrestrained in the selection of its topics, and hence is free to

select improper, as well as proper ones. On the same ground one might object to freedom of speech and thought in general, as many indeed have objected and still do object to it. But the question is fully settled that thought and speech must be free, and whether this be regarded as an evil or not, it is the part of wise men to recognize the fact, and act accordingly. In these days everything is at the mercy of thought. It pries into everything. Institutions the most sacred and venerable are liable to be undermined or exploded by it. And our objecting to it will not prevent these results either. Thought will work, and language will give utterance to its workings, whether we will or nill. This is the grand movement of the age, and the only proper course for wise and good men is, to put themselves at the head of the movement and control it. There is much that is impracticable and unwise on this point in the Christian community. Because all the influences in society cannot be guided quietly along in the old channels and under the control of the old agencies, the staid portion of the community, who have been in the habit of having things in their own way, and who managed them very well, too, while it was possible to do it after the established methods, withdraw themselves more and more from public affairs, till they almost realize the Oriental idea of a philosopher, symbolized by an enormously thick-shelled tortoise, with his head and extremities drawn in from all contact with earth, and completely imbedded within his impervious crust. But such withdrawal accomplishes nothing, completely nullifies, indeed, the influence of the man; and when at length, aroused from his profound repose by external commotions, he timidly thrusts out his head from his encasement to discover the cause, he finds himself, perhaps, with the whole community, tossed by the convulsions of a final overthrow. The truth is, freedom of thought and action necessarily disturb old agencies and cut out new channels of influence. Perfect freedom always tends to individuality, and hence to more multiplied ways of thinking and acting. Progress implies a previous state of imperfection, and at every step is a protest against the past. In the nature of things, this process of separation among those who, under less light, agreed, must continue to go on till truth and right being more universally established, men will unite in a higher and more comprehensive unity. The movement has fully commenced, and the most important question to be decided by the Christian community of the present age is, what course they should take in this general breaking up and reorganization of things.

Shall all the new agencies which have sprung up be left to the control of bad or reckless men; or shall they be examined, and when they contain an element of good, be improved and wielded in the cause of right? We advocate most decidedly the latter course. "Prove all things," says an apostle, "hold fast that which is good." Let that which has been proved to be evil, and only evil continually, be condemned and exploded, but that which must exist and may be made a blessing, be fostered and improved. On this principle we think the theatre, which is an old sinner, and nothing but a sinner, deserves to rest under the reprobation of the virtuous, while the lyceum, originating in the wants of the age, and capable of much good, may very properly be fostered and used for the best interests of the community.

With these remarks upon the subject of popular lecturing in general, we pass to the particular specimens of lectures contained in the books named at the head of this article. On this part of our subject we must necessarily be brief.

These two volumes are brought together here, not from any particular affinity between them, but rather as indicating a whole class by its extremes; just as throughout life, every whole is made up of an antithesis of opposites, as of good and evil, light and darkness, summer and winter. They occupy directly opposite poles. Not only are they wide apart, but they are diversely electrified; and what is more, the one draws its electricity from the earth, and the other from the clouds. The one reflects the wholesome views of "literature and life" which are current among men; the other, the mysterious mutterings of spirits of the night and of the air. The one sends up a gentle and healthful light from our hearths and homes; the other darts down fitful flashes and baleful strokes from the regions of darkness and mist.

MR. WHIPPLE is a gentleman of fine parts and studious habits, who, in connection with the duties of a regular business employment, has attained a high degree of mental cultivation, and an extensive acquaintance with English literature. For several years he has been widely known as an able and brilliant critic and lecturer, and now, we believe, is considered on all hands the most accomplished of American essayists. His *Reviews*, in two volumes, have been before the public some two or three years, and have been greatly admired and much read; while his *Lectures* show a most decided public appreciation, in the fact that they have already reached a second edition. Mr. Whipple, as far as we are aware, has never attempted any extended work, but confined himself to

short essays, mostly in the form of reviews and lectures. This may be owing in part to the necessary distractions of a business employment, which allows of short and brilliant efforts, but hardly of continuous and laborious composition. But whatever may be the cause of his devoting himself to this species of literature, we consider the selection fortunate. While he has all the qualities of a critical and pungent essayist,—clear insight, nice discrimination, a playful fancy, and tingling wit,—we doubt if he possesses, in large measure at least, those comprehensive views and large conceptions of nature and of man which are essential to the production of a great work. He has more fancy than imagination, more wit than humor, more critical acumen than intuition, more culture than native power, is more of a lecturer than an orator, more a reviewer than a producer of thought. But perhaps we do Mr. Whipple injustice in thus inferring his inadaptedness to other species of literature from his eminent adaptedness to that which he has cultivated. But few, if any, we know, have the ability to excel in all departments of literature; still, that a man has succeeded in one department is clearly no proof that he could not succeed in another, but as far as it goes perhaps is evidence to the contrary; since success in one thing gives a presumption at least in favor of success in other things. Of his distinguished success as an essayist there can be no doubt; of this the volume of *Lectures* before us gives the most convincing evidence. We will briefly indicate and illustrate some of the more prominent of their excellences.

The *Lectures*, to all intents and purposes, are essays, yet essays admirably adapted to the end and occasions for which they were prepared,—to be heard, not read,—to be spoken before audiences with varying degrees of cultivation, and in most cases assembled with the expectation of being entertained as well as instructed. To meet these demands, the author, while he has held himself to a thorough discussion of his subjects within the bounds proposed, has woven into his discourse apt illustrations and pertinent anecdotes, and sprinkled over the whole texture with wit. Nearly every lecture in the volume is a model in this respect of what a popular literary lecture ought to be. They exhibit the writer as retaining a proper respect for himself and his subject, and yet as anxious to instruct and entertain his audience. Take the following passage in illustration, from the lecture on “*The Ludicrous Side of Life* :”—

That habit of instantaneous analysis which we call readiness has saved thousands from contempt or mortification. The dexterous leap of

thought by which the mind escapes from a seemingly hopeless dilemma is worth all the vestments of dignity which the world holds. It was this readiness in repartee which continually saved Voltaire from social overturn. He once praised another writer very heartily to a third person. "It is very strange," was the reply, "that you speak so well of him, for he says that you are a charlatan."—"Oh!" replied Voltaire, "I think it very likely that both of us may be mistaken." Robert Hall did not lose his power of retort even in madness. A hypocritical condoler with his misfortunes once visited him in the mad-house, and said, in a whining tone, "What brought you here, Mr. Hall?" Hall significantly touched his brow with his finger, and replied, "What'll never bring you, sir,—too much brain!" It was this readiness which made John Randolph so terrible in retort. He was the Thersites of Congress,—a tongue-stabber. No hyperbole of contempt or scorn could be launched against him but he could overtop it with something more scornful and contemptuous. Opposition only maddened him into more brilliant bitterness. "Isn't it a shame, Mr. President," said he one day in the Senate, "that the noble bull-dogs of the administration should be wasting their precious time in worrying the rats of the opposition?" Immediately the Senate was in an uproar, and he was clamorously called to order. The presiding officer however sustained him; and pointing his long skinny finger at his opponents, Randolph screamed out, "Rats, did I say?—*mice, mice.*" (Pp. 148, 149.)

Another marked excellence of the Lectures is, the independence and manliness of their tone. Mr. Whipple is a self-educated and self-made man, from which circumstance he derives some peculiarities and some advantages. Not that it is any advantage either to have educated or made oneself, unless it has been well done. The peculiarity in Mr. Whipple's case is, that he has made and educated himself well. The advantages which he might have received from birth or fortune or the university he has not despised or despaired of, but put himself resolutely at work to supply from his own resources. And so completely has he supplied them, that a careless eye would hardly detect in his writings any evidence of the want of a scholastic education. Of course you will find in him nothing of that flippant conceit and ludicrous over-estimate of the importance of his opinions and powers so common in self-educated men; and yet there is in some cases a certain air of smartness and positiveness in his views, which we feel persuaded that a wider and deeper culture would somewhat abate. But, perhaps, what is lost in this way is more than made up by the freshness and independence which his views acquire from being worked out and expressed in his own way. His thoughts seem to partake of the elasticity and vigor of a laboring man. Many of them come out with such a jerk that they fairly ring. Every sentence is replete with life and joy. The views of "literature and life" are always manly and wholesome. There is not

a word of pretending cant, of mawkish sentimentality, or effeminate whining at the hardships of life in the whole book. Milton and Dante and Wordsworth are his greatest literary heroes; and as much as he abhors scamps, he seems to abhor flats more, as in the following passage:—

But about the beginning of the present century a new order of fictions came into fashion. As novelties commonly succeed with the public, some enterprising authors tried the speculation of discarding indecency. Sentimentality, the opposite evil, was substituted, and the dynasty of rakes was succeeded by the dynasty of flats. Lady Jane Brazenface, the former heroine, abdicated in favor of Lady Arabella Dieaway. The bold, free, reckless libertine of the previous romances now gave way to a lavendered young gentleman, the very pink and essence of propriety, faultless in features and in morals, and the undisputed proprietor of crushed affections and two thousand sterling a year. The inspiration of this tribe of novelists was love and weak tea; the soul-shattering period of courtship was their field of action. (P. 50.)

But the most striking feature of these Lectures is the astonishing command of language which they evince. It is so great as to be almost marvellous. Nothing seems to be too subtle, too remote, or too evanescent to be expressed by their copious and pliant dialect. Mr. Whipple has singular ability in tracing out and expressing those hidden connections of things and those slight, ethereal, and fugitive notions, which float as mere glimpses or visions in most men's minds. His keen, delicate, agile, genial, jubilant mind plays around and through his subject, threading its way along every vein of gold, like electricity. It is not the least of the merits of his Lectures that they are nearly all upon subjects which, though of very considerable importance, are so evanescent in their nature, that they are generally overlooked by writers, or treated of in the loosest or meagerest manner possible. There is scarcely one of these subjects on which a writer of no more than ordinary subtlety and ingenuity of thought, and aptness and copiousness of expression, would not say all that he has to say in a very few pages. But under the magic touch of Mr. Whipple, thought rises on thought, and word treads on word, till what in less affluent hands would be poor and unsatisfactory, grows into a rich, instructive, and extended discourse. In addition to those already quoted, we can give but a single short specimen of his light, brisk, exuberant style, and which is scarcely better than forty others that might be selected from the volume:—

There is probably no literature equal to the English in the number and variety of its humorous characters, as we find them in Shakspeare, Jon-

son, Fletcher, Fielding, Goldsmith, Addison, Scott, and Dickens. There is nothing so well calculated to make us cheerful and charitable, nothing which sinks so liquidly into the mind, and floods it with such a rich sense of mirth and delight, as these comic creations. How they flash upon our inward world of thought, peopling it with forms and faces whose beautiful facetiousness sheds light and warmth over our whole being! How their eyes twinkle and wink with the very unction of mirth! How they roll and tumble about in a sea of delicious fun, unwearied in rogueries, and drolleries, and gamesome absurdities, and wheedling gibes, and loud-ringing, extravagant laughter,—revelling and rioting in hilarity,—with countless jests and waggeries running and raining from them in a sun-lit stream of jubilant merriment! How they flood life with mirth! How they roll up pomposity and pretense into great balls of caricature, and set them sluggishly in motion before our eyes, to tear the laughter from our lungs! (P. 115.)

Amid these excellences, and others which might be named, we find some defects also. The style, always neat, graceful, and nimble, rather than condensed and massive, occasionally appears prim and finical;—witness especially the uncommonly frequent use of the possessive case of a noun, instead of making it dependent upon the preposition *of*, as in such expressions as, “earth’s industrial and political sovereigns,” “earth’s proudest palaces,” “the world’s fortunes,” which are all found on the first three pages of the first lecture. With much too that is serious, and wholesome, and sound in Mr. Whipple’s views and feelings, we must think that the general tone of his mind is too light and gamesome. His wit often runs away with him, and his hatred of canters and flats is too often directed, or at least hits, weak it may be, but benevolent laborers in the holiest of causes,—causes which are of more value to our race than all the wit and wittings in the world. As Christian reviewers, also, we should observe that Mr. Whipple’s moral and religious principles, though generally sound, appear to rest too little upon revelation, and are measured too much by worldly standards.

With these remarks we pass from this most agreeable writer and lecturer to another of a very different character.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON has long been known to the public as a propounder of strange doctrines, and a maker of brilliant sentences, both in poetry and prose. He has published several volumes of *Essays, Poems, &c.*, of which the general character may be indicated by saying that the poetry is prosaic, and the prose poetic. Mr. Emerson was educated for the priesthood; but, were we to judge from his writings, we should say, rather for the Mahometan or Brahminical than for the Christian priesthood. He quotes the *Koran* or the *Vedas* quite as often as the *Bible*, and with full as much respect. Be-

sides, he has that peculiar quietistic, dreamy, mystic tone of mind which belongs to the Oriental character. In the midst of the brisk, practical, utilitarian society of New-England, he appears more like the resurrection of an Egyptian mummy or an Indian Fakir than one of their own number. Self-poised, self-possessed, viewing everything from his own stand-point, and spinning everything out of his own bowels, he moves about in his stilted elevation, a standing wonder to the mass, a rapt prophet to a chosen few. He seems to have attained the highest ideal indifferentism and isolation of the sage, so as to look at everything in the white light of a passionless philosophy. Nothing can be cooler than the measured, oracular tone in which he pronounces upon vexed questions, or the heedlessness with which he dashes against this or that system or institution, however venerable, as though he moved with all the impersonality and weight of philosophy itself. If we understand him, and we are not at all certain that we do, Mr. Emerson's system of nature and man is quite outside of, and independent of the established science and religion of civilized society, and rests on a basis peculiarly its own. Symbolism is more to him than science, and consciousness than revelation. He keeps sidereal time, and holds his magnet ever pointed directly towards the north pole, irrespective of the varying force of terrestrial magnetism. He is an idealist of the most ideal stamp, having sublimated the ideal till it has become wholly divorced from the real.

This general character is preserved throughout Mr. Emerson's works, and is as applicable to the one under consideration as to his others, except, perhaps, this is as a whole a little less objectionable in spirit and doctrine than the rest. We attribute this slightly less obnoxious tone to the fact that these essays were prepared to be spoken in the presence of living assemblies of men, and not merely to be read; just as one will meditate alone, or pronounce, perhaps, to another in the dark, or with his face turned away, many things which he would never think of uttering to men when looking them fully in the eye. However, the book possesses substantially the same features as his others. There is the same vein of mysticism running through it. This lurks even in the very title, "Representative Men." The Scriptures exhibit Adam and Christ as in some sense representative to the human race, though even this our theologians, of late, are fast explaining away. Aside from these, we know of none who, in any intelligible sense, can be called representative men. By representative men, Mr. Emerson seems to mean men who

personate or reflect the spirit and image of a class. This doubtless many men do more or less perfectly, but none, we contend, so perfectly as to give them an exclusive right to be considered representative above all others. To take his own examples, why should Plato be made the representative philosopher rather than Aristotle or Bacon? Plato represents one philosophic tendency, and Aristotle and Bacon another. Or why should Goethe be made the representative writer more than Scott or Voltaire? And on what sound principle can Shakspeare be made the representative poet, rather than Homer, or Milton, or many others? He is pre-eminent, it may be, above them all, but not simply as a poet, and certainly not in every species of poetry.

We dwell thus upon this mere title, because it is a specimen of that vague, mystical generalization both of men and races, which is so common in many writers of the present day. It is presumption enough to set up one man as a representative of a class in his own nation, much more as the representative of that class throughout the world. Our creed on this point scarcely goes further than that of Lady Montague, that "God has created men, women, and Herveys," and these in all races alike. Eminence is not confined to any one age or nation, nor is any one race, in our opinion, so pre-eminent above all others as to deserve to be regarded as the representative or model race. They have all both great and small men and women, and are none of them, perhaps, without their "Herveys." Nearly all the principal races have been prominent in turn, and, in the revolution of ages, those which are now depressed will come up again in the progress of that spiral motion through which the world is constantly passing. Men and races differ, it is confessed, but it would be much more edifying to point out the circumstances which have contributed to make this difference, than to claim for some a natural pre-eminence by right divine.

But to pass to another point—for we must speedily bring our article to a close. Mr. Emerson has the same measured, oracular, prophet-like manner of delivering himself in this book, as in his others. This is his standing device for giving weight and importance to common thoughts. A person not understanding the trick, on reading one of these Lectures for the first time, or listening to it as pronounced in the impressive manner of its author, would take it for a very tissue of profundities. To test this question of profundity, let us give a synopsis of all the thoughts contained in one of the lectures,—say the first, on the "Uses of Great Men,"—

translating the ideas from Emersonese into plain English. Thus :—

“ We naturally believe in great men.—Everything seems to exist for the great.—We search for them on all sides.—The credit of the race or community rests upon them.—Religion is the cherishing of them.—We are inspired by their example and instructed by their discourse, rather than benefited by any direct gift from them.—Great men are attracted each to the department of nature or art to which he is fitted, appropriating all that has been done by others in the department, and making further developments.—Great men are useful in inspiring others through the power of their intellect and heart, as seen in their thoughts and actions.—But the greatest benefactor of the race is the teacher of moral law.—Great men arouse others from that complacent mediocrity both in intellect and character, so prevalent in society.—But the influence of great men is limited by the general tendency to individuality among men, so that we need not fear to put ourselves under their influence.—Great men exist not for themselves, but the race ; they are not merely served, but serving.”

These are all the ideas, we believe, which are contained in this lecture of thirty pages. The thoughts by themselves are neither many nor great, and yet in merely listening to the measured cadence of its sentences, as delivered in solemn tone, you would almost think that an angel was passing slowly by, shedding riches from his rustling wings. See in what imposing garniture he tricks out the simple idea that each department of nature requires for its interpretation a genius adapted to it :—

A man is a centre for nature, running out threads of relation through everything, fluid and solid, material and elemental. The earth rolls ; every clod and stone comes to the meridian : so every organ, function, acid, crystal, grain of dust, has its relation to the brain. It waits long, but its turn comes. Each plant has its parasite, and each created thing its lover and poet. Justice has already been done to steam, to iron, to wood, to coal, to loadstone, to iodine, to corn and cotton ; but how few materials are yet used by our arts ! The mass of creatures and of qualities are still hid and expectant. It would seem as if each waited, like the enchanted princess in fairy tales, for a destined human deliverer. Each must be disenchanted, and walk forth to day in human shape. In the history of discovery the ripe and latent truth seems to have fashioned a brain for itself. A magnet must be made man, in some Gilbert, or Swedenborg, or Oersted, before the general mind can come to entertain its powers. (P. 15.)

These Lectures, as already stated, contain, perhaps, rather fewer positively objectionable statements of doctrine, than

some of Mr. Emerson's other works. They contain, however, some precious specimens in this line, besides being permeated, like all his writings, with a false and hurtful spirit. Take the following passage as a specimen of his impious manner of treating religion:—

Our religion is the love and cherishing of these patrons, [i. e. great men.] The gods of fable are the shining moments of great men. We run all our vessels into one mould. Our colossal theologies of Judaism, Christism, Buddhism, Mahometism, are the necessary and structural action of the human mind. The student of history is like a man going into a warehouse to buy cloths or carpets. He fancies he has a new article. If he go to the factory he shall find that his new stuff still repeats the scrolls and rosettes which are found on the interior walls of the pyramids of Thebes. Our theism is the purification of the human mind. Man can paint, or make, or think nothing but man. He believes that the great material elements had their origin from his thought. And our philosophy finds one essence collected or distributed. (Pp. 10, 11.)

And are then Christianity, Buddhism, and Mahometism “cast in the same mould”? Are they alike but the exaggerated pictures of hero-worship,—foul idolatries of the mind, which is purified only by theism? To say nothing of their relative historical claims to a divine origin, do they deserve, considered in reference to their effects, to be grouped thus ludicrously together? Would any candid, not to say devout mind, cognizant of the widely differing fruits and effects of the systems, cast them aside in one indiscriminate jumble, as “colossal” mythologies which deserve no respect? But they can be, even the best of them, it seems, nothing but imperfect products of our own minds, because “man can paint, or make, or think nothing but man.” And cannot, then, God *reveal* to us something which is not merely an imperfect product of our own minds? The coolness with which Mr. Emerson here assumes the negative of this question is characteristic of the man.

There are other passages in the book of a similar character with the above, as where he says: “Churches believe in imputed merit. But in strictness we are not much cognizant of direct serving.” Again: “With each new mind, a new secret of nature transpires; nor can the Bible be closed, until the last great man be born.” Mr. Emerson can swear, too, it seems, in lectures delivered before polite audiences; but we must decline quoting his oaths here,—if any wish to study these pleasing amenities in this solemn prophet of the nineteenth century, they will find them on pages thirty-two and one hundred and fifty-four of his Lectures. How a person

of any pretensions to seriousness and decency can thus outrage all sanctity and propriety in order to catch the applause of a few vulgar minds, and "bring down the house," as it is called, is to us utterly unaccountable, except it be upon the Scripture principle, that those who do not like to retain the knowledge of God are given over to a reprobate mind. That Mr. Emerson has such a mind is certain; but forsooth, he belongs to that class of great men whose "irregularities are not to be measured by village scales."

But with all his grave defects,—and this only makes the matter worse,—Mr. Emerson is a man of unquestioned power, nay, of genius even. All his thoughts are perversely irregular, and most of them have a vein of mysticism in them, but he has thoughts,—he is by no means a mere word-grinder, though more so than his admirers seem to think. There is not always much coherence between his thoughts, but one who will take the pains to follow him, will generally find some idea, whim or conceit in each sentence. His style, too, with some peculiarities and innovations in language, is uncommonly neat. Every sentence seems to come out with a clearness and precision, as if he had touched his lips with pure water before its utterance. He is rich in happy allusions and quotations, particularly of the mystic kind, and abounds in apt illustrations, drawn mostly from common objects, something after the manner of Socrates. These qualities run through all his writings, his Lectures among the rest, which indeed do not differ from his other writings in any important point, and are scarcely better fitted to be read before a popular audience than his Essays. Indeed, they are essays, to all intents and purposes, and would much more advantageously, both for himself and others, have appeared as such.

ART. VI.—HISTORICAL STUDIES.

Historical Studies. By GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE, late United States Consul at Rome. New-York: George P. Putnam. 1850. Pp. 467.

THE papers which are contained in this volume, with a single exception, have appeared at different intervals within the last fifteen years, in successive numbers of the *North American Review*, and have been received with marked interest by the readers of that journal. They are twelve in number, of which ten relate to the history and literature of Italy. In addition to these, there is among them an instructive and valuable paper on the public libraries of Europe, and an admirably written and highly elaborate article on Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, and his strange adventures in the romantic attempt which he made in the rebellion of 1745, to recover the throne of his ancestors. These several papers are very appropriately grouped in the volume before us under the common name of *Historical Studies*, a name which well describes their general aim and character, and indicates the aspirations and pursuits in which they had their origin. The greater part of them, we believe, were written while the author was residing as Consul of the United States in Rome, or in other cities of Italy—near the storied scenes to which they relate, and amid the very tombs of the men whose characters and labors they portray. It was while here that he formed and cherished the design of composing a history of Italy, alike through the ages of her decline and her reviving glory,—a design which, as he intimates in the preface to the present volume, he was prevented from accomplishing by the failure of his sight and his consequent return to the United States. He has for some time past occupied the post of Instructor in Modern Languages in Brown University, the place of his own early studies, and is also engaged in the preparation of several literary works more or less connected with his chosen pursuits while abroad.

The papers comprised in this volume furnish abundant proof of the literary abilities and accomplishments of their author, and to us they are not the less interesting for having been prepared as contributions to a journal of public criti-

cism. Though originally designed as reviews of the writings of others, they belong to that class of reviews which, to adopt the words of Sydney Smith, "have made reviewing more respectable than authorship," and have thus acquired for themselves a permanent value and an independent position in the literature of the age. Mr. Greene wields an accurate and graceful pen, and though the articles in this volume are of unequal merit, the style of each will be found to commend itself to the reader of cultivated taste by a rare assemblage of pleasing qualities. It is clear, precise, and rhythmical, and in many passages of animated description, it swells into majestic boldness and eloquence. It addresses itself to the imagination of the reader, and weaves the facts and statistics which it employs into scenes of dramatic interest and power. It is thus well suited to historical portraiture and the delineation of character. Indeed it is to this feature of the style that the sketches which are here presented owe their strongest interest. They open before us the scenery of several different periods of Italian or English history, and exhibit in bold relief for our entertainment and instruction the men of genius who represent these periods or the great events which have made them famous in the annals of the world.

That portion of the series which relates to Italy, presents to us several of the most interesting topics connected with the intellectual and social progress of that country. In the article upon Petrarch which begins the volume we are introduced to the age which witnessed the earliest dawn of modern learning. The manuscripts which had survived the fall of the Western Empire, and in which was preserved all that now remained of the literature of the Latin language, were just beginning to be separated from the monkish legends and chronicles with which they had been connected, and finding here and there a mind that could appreciate them, were kindling the genius of Italy into something like an emulation of its elder achievements and its long-lost renown. The noisy tumults of a barbarous age were gradually hushed by the voice which proceeded from the tomb of the past, and princes and statesmen, as well as poets and scholars, devoted their time and their energies to the work of seeking for the literary remains of ancient Rome. A knowledge of the Latin language was a rare accomplishment, and the Greek was but just beginning to be taught in Italy by the philosophers who had sought refuge there from the desolations which were sweeping over the countries of the East. Dante, and here and there a genius of humbler powers, had laid the foundations

of a native literature, but amid the new influences to which it was now subjected, the Italian mind gave itself up to the enthusiastic admiration and the careful imitation of those ancient models which were gradually emerging from the oblivion in which they had been buried for ages.

Such were the intellectual tendencies of the Italian people in the early part of the fourteenth century, when Petrarch began his career as an author and a restorer of the learning of the past. Into this spirit of his age he entered with the full earnestness of his enthusiastic nature, and soon became the foremost among his countrymen in zeal for the discovery of manuscripts and in taste for the delicate appreciation of the literary beauties which they contained. Mr. Hallam pronounces Petrarch the first real restorer of polite letters, the most earnest and influential promoter of a taste for classical knowledge among the people of Italy. He was charmed with the exquisite rhythm of the language of Cicero and Virgil, and long before he learned to comprehend their meaning, he copied with his own hand several of their writings from the manuscripts which he had been instrumental in rescuing from the dungeons of monasteries where they had long been mouldering. He soon entered upon the study of the Latin tongue with the utmost ardor of youth, and for many years it seems to have been his highest ambition to acquire the ability to write the language which had been used by the great authors of the classic age. He attempted in Latin an epic poem, which he called *Africa*, and of which he is said to have been more proud than of the sonnets and odes with which his name has since become identified.

In the sketch which Mr. Greene here gives of Petrarch we find a comprehensive view of his entire character both as an author and a man, which we specially commend to the attention of those who have been accustomed to think of him only as the author of the *Canzoniere* and the subject of the mysterious passion which so deeply tinged his life and became the inspiration of much of his poetry. If not the profoundest he was certainly the most enthusiastic scholar of his age, and his influence both in the restoration of ancient learning and in the creation of a native literature for his country continued to be felt through many subsequent generations. Resolute and unwearied as were his researches among the scattered remains of Roman genius, his labors and aspirations were by no means confined to these, and while he pointed the writers of his age to the classic models of the past, he also called them by many an earnest exhortation to cultivate their own

language and make it the receptacle of a permanent national literature. In this patriotic undertaking he himself nobly led the way, and by his example as well as by his precepts, taught the young scholars of Italy to make their studies of Virgil and Horace, of Cicero and Livy, tributary to the improvement of their own tongue and a means of rekindling the genius of their own countrymen. He breathed forth in the deep current of his verse the tenderest laments over the fallen condition of his country, and by recalling the proud history of the past, the long glories of Rome's elder days, he sought to arouse the Italian mind to new hopes and new determinations. He thus became the founder of a school of poetry and criticism which not only numbered among its disciples the leading minds of the age, but, long after he had gone down to the tomb, continued to shape by its influence the literary taste and character of the Italian people.

The practice of crowning with laurel the favorite bards of a people seems to have been common throughout antiquity. It existed among the states of Greece, and was continued in the palmiest days of the republic and the empire of Rome; but it had now been obsolete in Western Europe for many centuries. Beneath the influences of reviving learning, however, it was occasionally renewed at the universities of France and Germany, and the laurel was bestowed upon youthful scholars, eminent for their genius or their attainments in literature. But as yet it had not extended beyond the walls of universities or the societies of the learned, and it was reserved for Petrarch to be the first who should win this high distinction by the renown of his literary works. It was in the autumn of 1340, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, that the Senate of Rome offered to bestow on him the laureate crown in their own Capitol, as a token of their admiration of his genius and their gratitude for his services to their country. Many of his finest odes and sonnets had been given to the world and were now widely read and sung in the homes of the people, thus linking the name of Petrarch with the warmest enthusiasm of the peasantry and with the hopes and joys of the young of every class. But it was the rumor which had gone abroad that, in his retirement at Vacluse, he was engaged in writing an epic poem in the Latin tongue, that made him the admiration and pride of the learned and the powerful both of his own and of other countries. On the same day on which the offer of the Senate reached him in the solitude of his studies, he also received from the University of Paris an invitation to be crowned as Poet Laureate in that city. He hesitated for a while be-

tween the two proposals, of which the one would extend his fame in a foreign land, and the other would bind him more closely to the sympathies and fortunes of his own country. Prompted by patriotic feelings he decided to accept the honor from the hands of the Roman Senate, and in April of the following year he repaired to the Capitol in order to participate in the magnificent pageant and to receive from the venerable Fathers of the State the proudest distinction which literary genius could win. It was the most glorious spectacle of the age, and one which might well be hailed by the desponding patriot or the thoughtful friend of human progress as the harbinger of a better era that would yet dawn upon a land hitherto desolated by war and overgrown with barbarism. "The dark clouds which hung so thickly over the moral and political horizon, seemed for an instant to break away, and the shout of the thousands who crowded around the Capitol and filled the avenues of the Forum might have seemed the voice of reviving Rome,—reviving, not to roll the dripping wheels of the triumphal car along the steep of the Capitol; not to suspend a new shield or lance at the shrine of Capitoline; but to place upon the bloodless brow of genius the reward of victories gained in the pure field of intellectual exertion, over the ignorance and wildness of a barbarous age."

Such were the labors and the rewards of a man of genius and letters in Italy, in the age which witnessed the earliest revival of ancient learning. We linger over them with peculiar interest as exemplifications of the dawning period of modern civilization, when not in Italy alone, but in every country of Western Europe, were slowly developing the intellectual activities, the social institutions, and the civil rights, from which has sprung all that we most value both in the literature and the social order of our own times. Contemporary with Petrarch were other names of high literary celebrity, but there is not one among them which stands out so boldly as the representative of the scholarship and the genius of the age. The same period also witnessed the singular insurrection and the short-lived triumph of the popular favorite Cola di Rienzi, for whose character Petrarch conceived the highest admiration, and whose marvellous career was a natural result of the new ideas which were then just starting to life in the minds of the people. But upon these incidental characters we are unable now to linger, for we must turn to other topics furnished in the volume before us.

Intimately connected with the revival of learning in Italy,

of which Petrarch was so zealous a promoter, was the origin and progress of the Reformation in that country. Mr. Greene treats of this in a subsequent paper, though the object which he has in view leads him to present only a general outline of the manner in which it was begun and of the causes which prevented its success. Italy and Spain are justly regarded throughout the Protestant world as the strongest fortresses of the Papacy, and indeed are usually spoken of as countries in which none have ever dared to breathe the doctrines of the Reformation. This opinion is far more correct when applied to Spain than when applied to Italy, for in this latter country, the corruptions in the doctrine and practice of the Church were loudly complained of and denounced even before the voice of the great Reformer had been raised in Germany. The literary spirit which had been awakened in Italy during the fourteenth century had proved unfriendly to that implicit faith in the dogmas of the Church which the Papacy always demands, and by the beginning of the sixteenth century it had created in the minds of many leading scholars and ecclesiastics a settled unbelief with respect to the foundations of Christianity itself. This is said to have forced itself on the attention of Luther when in youth he visited that country, and to have excited his amazement more than any other fact which he observed in the condition of the people. He found that in every circle there were those who spoke in derision alike of the authority of the Papal See, the institutions of the Church, and of the doctrines and evidences of religion. But though this scoffing infidelity was widely spread among the literary and scientific men of Italy, there were those in every leading city over whom it had no power, but who, while they saw and condemned the abominations of Popery, still clung with unyielding faith to the truth of divine revelation and to many of the institutions of the Catholic Church. These men maintained in the discussions of their literary societies, and not a few of them promulgated in their writings, doctrines analogous to those of Protestantism; and when the voice of the Reformation was heard from beyond the Alps, the sentiments it proclaimed found an echo in many a conclave of scholars in every city of Italy and even around the very walls of the Vatican.

It was on the borders of Italy too that the Waldenses had for unknown ages maintained their simple worship, and amid their mountain homes had kept uncorrupted the faith they had received from the earliest fathers of the Christian church. Content with their own primitive independence, and careless

of the ecclesiastical struggles which had divided the world, they had hitherto dwelt unharmed while the tumults of war and the relentless vengeance of persecution were raging around them. But the influence of their quiet example and of their spiritual doctrines had not been wholly unfelt, and wherever it was extended it was sure to weaken the hold of the Papacy upon the consciences of men.

The agency of causes like these, in conjunction with the political events of the time, had prepared the way for the Reformation in Italy; and when its doctrines began to be promulgated, they found a ready reception in nearly every portion of the country. In Ferrara they were embraced by the princess who sat upon the ducal throne, and the persecuted Protestants who took refuge within her jurisdiction found in her a powerful protector and a liberal patron. In Modena they were cherished by a large body of scholars who became their teachers among the people, and in Bologna they ranked among their disciples many of the brightest names of the University as well as some of the most distinguished citizens. In Naples they were boldly preached by Bernardino Ochino, a devout and enthusiastic monk, first of the Franciscan and afterwards of the Capuchin order, whose whole nature was kindled by his enlivening faith in the doctrine of justification by grace. He travelled over Italy everywhere proclaiming the new opinions. "The cities," says Ranké, "poured out their multitudes to hear him preach; the churches were too small to contain them; the learned and the common people, both sexes, old and young, all were gratified. His coarse garb, his beard that swept his breast, his gray hairs, his pallid, meagre countenance, and the feebleness he had contracted from his obstinate fasts, gave him the aspect of a saint." In Venice and in Lucca the Lutheran doctrines spread even more widely among the people; they were eagerly embraced by leading scholars and ecclesiastics, who republished the works of the Reformers of Germany and Switzerland, and openly applauded the principles of spiritual independence which they contained. Both these States were well nigh won over to Protestantism, and were on the eve of declaring against the Papal See, when a complication of political events made the support of the Pontiff necessary to their security, and decided their governments to continue an allegiance which, however it might be hated, could not now be safely dispensed with.

So widely had the Reformation spread its influence among the States of Italy. In some of them it seemed already triumphant. In others its principles had taken strong hold of

the minds of the people, had altered the tone of the ecclesiastics, and even penetrated the seclusion of the monasteries, and infused a new spirit into the vigils and devotions of the cloistered monks.

To the growth of these new doctrines among his own subjects a Pontiff like Leo X. was not likely to be long indifferent. The pernicious heresies which had hitherto been threatening the Catholic faith beyond the Alps seemed now to be springing up around the very seat of the Papacy, and to be menacing with destruction the most sacred monuments of its power. Leo X. however soon passed away, and was succeeded by Adrian, a Pontiff of milder and more generous qualities, whose attachments to the Christian faith were of a far purer character. The hopes of those who sought to reform the abuses which existed in the Church were now raised to the highest pitch, as they saw Adrian seated in the pontifical chair. But they were destined never to be realized, for though the Pope himself eagerly endeavored to effect a reconciliation between the contending parties, his courtiers and cardinals arrayed a steady and powerful opposition against all his plans, and the pontificate soon passed into the hands of those who, bent on securing every element both of spiritual and of civil power that lay within their reach, were determined to suppress the Reformation in Italy at every hazard and by any means that could be put in requisition. Among these means, by far the most effectual was the Inquisition, which had already been successfully established in Spain, and by its agency there had clothed itself with frightful terrors to the imagination of every people in Christendom. It was now introduced into Italy, and though it met with violent opposition both from the people and the governments of several of the States, yet the Papal power was at length everywhere triumphant, and the terrors of the "Holy Office" soon silenced the voice of the reformer in every portion of the land. Then began the dismal reign of that unmitigated despotism which has so often followed the triumphs of the Romish Church. Who can describe the wrongs and the woes which are wrought into the history of that gloomy period in which the tribunals of the Inquisition were employed in punishing the innocent disciples of the Reformation in Italy? Their secret agents were everywhere at work, and, often stimulated by private enmity, were constantly bringing forth for accusation and for trial persons of the most blameless lives, whose Protestant faith had been cherished in the sanctuary of their own hearts, and had scarcely been breathed save in

the privacy of their holiest devotions. No social rank was so elevated as to be exempt from the ceaseless espionage of the Inquisition. No domestic hearth was so sacred as to escape its remorseless scrutiny. Its racks were constantly occupied with the victims of its torture, and its deep dungeons, more gloomy and terrific than have ever been built for other purposes, were crowded with those whom neither rank nor age nor sex could protect, and whose unrecorded sufferings were witnessed only by the dreary walls within which they were immured.

Thus perished the Reformation in Italy, and in its ruins was extinguished every spark of the Protestant religion among the people. What the tortures of the Inquisition could not effect on account of the number of victims who were to be sacrificed, was finally accomplished by the flames of the stake and by the ravages of the sword. The Waldenses from Piedmont who had planted their quiet colonies in Calabria, were driven to the forests and mountains by a relentless persecution, where, "hunted like beasts of prey, some fell by the sword and others, less happy, perished by famine in the desolate caverns which had afforded them a temporary asylum. The greater portion being thus cut off, the few who had fallen alive into the hands of their enemies were reserved for every species of torture, perishing by the knife, or precipitated from the summits of lofty towers, or stifled by the foul air of damp and crowded dungeons."

In a subsequent article on the "Hopes of Italy," written early in 1848, Mr. Greene eloquently and earnestly sets forth the indications of social progress which presented themselves to his own eye while residing in the country and in daily commerce with its people. The hopes he here expresses, he educes from the changes which have been made in the divisions of the territory, and which have increased its capacities for union and defense; from the multiplied facilities for communication between the several States, which are awakening in all a deeper feeling of common wants and common interests; from the popular character of Italian literature and the relations which the men of letters sustain to the people; from the gradual rise of a middle class which is uniting the two opposite extremes of society; and especially from the progress which the Italians have made in the formation of moral and social character, and in the attainment of those civic virtues without which the hopes of freedom are always illusory and the labors and sacrifices of the patriot are inevitably futile. Each of these sources of hope he con-

siders in detail, and throws over them all the light which he has borrowed from the earlier history of Italy, and the warm glow of enthusiasm which he has caught from daily intercourse with her scholars and men of genius.

The views which he thus develops were written and published just on the eve of the great events which have marked the past two years of Italian history. By the astonishing changes and reverses which have taken place within this period they have been subjected to the severe test of experience; and in a supplemental article upon the same subject, now published for the first time, Mr. Greene reviews the progress of Italian affairs, and furnishes an estimate of the changes which have been made and the permanent results which have been secured. In his manner of doing this, we discern traces of a minute knowledge and a careful discrimination such as could belong only to one long resident amid the scenes which he describes and familiar with the chief agents in the transactions which he recounts. It is evident that, to his mind, the hopes of Italy have not perished with the defeat of Charles Albert, the flight of Pope Pius IX., or even with the fall of the Triumvirate. The sources from which he originally derived them still exist in the aspirations of the popular mind and in the moral and social condition of the people, and the influences are still at work which are to shape their hopes and embody them in yet another movement for Italian freedom. The period in question is divided into three distinct parts, each of which is reviewed in detail in the article before us. "The first is the period of reform by government. The second, of the war of independence. The third, of reform by the governed."

Our author confines his review almost entirely to the political events of the period; but for ourselves, we cannot but believe, that there are hindrances to the progress of the Italian people, existing in the very constitution of the Papacy, if not in the organization of the Catholic Church itself, which no political combinations, however propitious, can possibly remove. Our hopes for Italy therefore can never be sanguine, so long as a Pope shall continue to occupy the throne, and to rule the ancient capital of the Cæsars. The Papal power must of itself assuredly blight whatever freedom may spring up beneath its dismal shadow. That dread union of imperial and spiritual rule which the Papacy has always maintained, we believe to be wholly incompatible with the habits both of thought and of action that are essential to the character of a free and advancing people. We have lost our

faith in the liberality of Popes and the justice of Cardinals. We dread their influence alike in the counsels of cabinets and upon the minds of the people ; for wherever we see it exerted, there we are sure to witness intrigue, mischief and wrong, as the unfailing results. We speak no language of bigotry, but only utter what the voice of all history confirms, when we pronounce the Papacy to be utterly incompatible with the rights and the progress of humanity ; and to whatever part of the earth its power is extended, whether it be in the classic realms of Italy, among the beautiful vales of France, on the green islands of the Pacific, or over the prairies and sierras of our own continent, we feel that a blight has descended upon the hopes and interests of mankind, that a barrier of giant dimensions and most formidable strength has been raised in the pathway of human improvement and of true Christian civilization. It will be only when the dynasty of the Pontiffs in Italy has passed away, and, with that of the Stuarts in England and the Bourbons in France, has lost its prestige and power for ever, that the Italian people can spring forward upon a progressive career of civil and religious freedom. Mr. Greene, it may be, will hardly agree with us in this estimate of the influence of the Papal government, and we feel on this account the more bound to give his views concerning the results of the recent movements in Italy in his own words :—

First of all, a definite line has been drawn between progress and reaction, with the people on one side, and despotism on the other. All the hopes of civilization are to be found with the one, with the other all that it dreads. The question of the future has been simplified, reducing the claims of power to a single standard of legitimacy—the fulfilment of all the conditions of a progressive civilization. Peasants have sat in the halls of princes, and the prestige of royalty is gone. Every capital in Europe has been in the hands of the people, and during their dominion scarcely an excess was committed. Every capital has fallen again into the hands of the sovereign, and prison and exile and the gibbet have marked their return. Whenever a new convulsion comes, and come it must, there will be but one question—the will of the many,—and but one test—their good.

And next, we have seen that, at the beginning of the war of independence, there were two prominent parties in Italy, and one in the shade. The King of Piedmont was the first to test his strength and failed, whether from incompetence or from treachery posterity will decide. A failure equally signal, though from a less dubious cause, showed how little reliance could be placed in the Pope as the leader of a great national enterprise. Last came the republicans, with no reliance but their enthusiasm and their faith. Under a republican government Rome resisted for four weeks every effort of a well-appointed army and a skilful general, and never had the administration been conducted more calmly, with greater order, or so equal a distribution of justice. If such calmness and energy

and equal justice could be displayed by unexperienced republicans in such a moment of trial, what might not be hoped from them when greater experience should have perfected their science, and better days have given them time to test and develop their designs? Let who will tax republicanism with incompetence, history is there with her stern realities to show that of all the governments which attempted to lead the great movement of Italian regeneration, the republican was the only one that proved itself equal to the task. Despotism appealed to interest, republicanism to conscience. The one to present enjoyment, the other to future good. The former addressed itself to that cold spirit of calculation, which weighs all the chances of personal hazard, the other to that expansive love of humanity, which looks hopefully to the happiness of the son as an ample compensation for the sacrifices of the father.

And finally, the question of religious freedom has become indissolubly connected with that of Italian independence.

When the war of independence broke out the Court of Rome might have taken the lead and kept it, and that purely by the force of its moral power. But from the day in which Pius IX. signed his appeal to the Catholic sovereigns of Europe, he renounced the position which he had held as the leader of Italian reform, and made himself the dependent of the absolute principles of his protectors. After a declaration so precise, it is mockery to talk of paternal love, or a conscientious abhorrence of war. Every drop of blood that was shed before the walls of Rome, has risen up in testimony against him. Foreign bayonets may force him again upon his unwilling people, and an appeal to old associations, and base flattery of the baser feelings of our nature, may keep him there for a time; but nothing can ever restore to the Vatican that force of opinion which it has wielded so fatally and so long.

Therefore, the events of the last two years have shown that every liberal movement of an Italian prince will necessarily lead to a war of independence. They have shown that the means for conducting this war are greater than they ever were before, and the spirit of the people better prepared to meet the sacrifices which it will inevitably impose.

They have shown that there is no single banner which the people can follow; that the personal ambition of princes is a serious obstacle to the success of such a contest; that to win it with their guidance, they must pay the full price of victory, and submit to all the penalties of defeat.

They have shown that it is not in palaces that they are to look for the genius and the energy which so arduous a task requires.

They have shown that the concessions of the sovereign are no sure basis of reform; that what terror or caprice or even a sense of justice may wrest from him to-day, may be given back to him to-morrow by the bayonet.

They have shown that in the day of trial the real strength of a country is to be found in the energetic will of the people, combined and directed by the men of their own choice.

They have shown that the strength of absolute power is founded on money or on credit and on the hirelings that these can command.

They have shown that for the leaders of great movements there is no compromise between victory and defeat. (Pp. 459-462.)

Passing by the other articles, we pause for a moment upon that which delineates the character and relates the adventures of Charles Edward, the Young Pretender. It is the longest and most elaborate in the volume, and contains a narrative of

unequalled interest of the Scottish insurrection in 1745, by means of which this last and most heroic Prince of the Stuart race sought to regain the lost throne of his fathers. This insurrection forms an episode in English history of rare and romantic interest, and has furnished a stirring theme to many an eminent writer. It has been fully described by John Home, and by Sir Walter Scott, in his *Tales of a Grandfather*; and some of its incidents have been wrought into the fascinating narrative of *Waverley*. It has also employed the historic pen of Smollett, Chambers, and Lord Mahon; and has been minutely illustrated in several *Lives of the Pretenders*, and in numerous *Memoirs of the Jacobites*. But in none of these, we believe, however superior they may be in historic fullness, has it been so graphically and thrillingly portrayed as in the article before us.

The Stuart family had long been residing in the Papal States, when, early in the year 1744, Charles Edward, the grandson of James II., and the elder son of the Chevalier St. George, was secretly summoned to Paris by Louis XV., who was then meditating a descent upon England, and was desirous of making use of the partisan hostility of the disaffected Jacobites who were scattered over the kingdom. On his arrival at the French capital, he was hurried to Dunkirk, where a large fleet, with a military force under the command of Marshal Saxe, was in readiness for the enterprise. The young Prince, having been furnished with papers from his father commending him to his adherents, embarked with the Marshal, and the expedition proceeded to sea. But the evil fortune which had long hung over his race was again to frustrate his plans and to delay his hopes. The fleet, closely watched by that of England, was driven from its course, and, just on the eve of an engagement, was scattered and disabled by a storm. The Prince, disappointed though not disheartened at the failure of the expedition, still lingered in France, and early in the following year, wearied with waiting, formed and matured the design of proceeding to Scotland without the aid of the French King, and by rallying the Jacobites of the North, and especially the Highland clans, of making one desperate effort to secure the throne of England. Having provided himself with two ships, he embarked in July, 1745, with eight followers, with slender equipments and still more slender finances; and after losing one of his vessels in an engagement with an English frigate, he landed at Moidart, one of the most desolate islands along the Scottish coast. Here he is visited by the chiefs of the neighboring clans, who openly

express to him their entire distrust of the enterprise which he has conceived, and their amazement at the rashness of the undertaking. But nothing can withstand the contagion of his enthusiasm, and the eloquence of his appeals ; and, one after another, they yield to his persuasions, even against the sober convictions of their cooler judgments, and at length pledge their utmost support to the seemingly hopeless cause in which he has embarked. In a few days the royal standard of the Stuarts is unfurled amidst the assembled clans at Glenfinnan, and the Prince, strengthened at every step by fresh accessions from the Highland clans, and by the arrival of adherents of every degree from the cities and villages of Scotland, commences his march towards the border. Perth receives him with loyal submission, and its wealthy and powerful Duke joins his own retainers to the Highland army. Sir John Cope, the commander of the forces of the King, marches against him, but avoids a battle ; and while the Provost and the Council of Edinburgh were deliberating upon the terms of surrender he had proposed, his brave Highlanders entered the city, and unfurled the white flag of the Stuarts from the towers of Holyrood Palace.

Thus established in the ancient dwelling-place of his ancestors, the court of Charles Edward is soon crowded with the gay, the chivalrous, and the beautiful, who are delighted with the grace and beauty of his person, and the royal dignity of his manners. The King, on the arrival of the Pretender in Scotland, was absent from the realm, on a visit to his Hanoverian dominions, and now hastened back to his capital, determined, if necessary, to place himself at the head of his army, and drive his enemy from the country. The Cabinet had already offered a reward of £30,000 for the head of Charles ; and the Prince in return had offered a like sum for the head of the Hanoverian usurper. All England was stupefied with the panic which was thus created, and multitudes of the inhabitants were evidently waiting to join whichever party should prove successful. The alarm which had taken possession of the popular mind was soon increased by the defeat of Sir John Cope in the battle of Preston, and by the rumors of aid from France which were circulated through the realm.

The Prince, flushed with the unexpected success which had hitherto attended his arms, was eager to hasten forward to London, and secure the throne and the crown which he had been taught to believe were the hereditary and indefeasible right of his family. In vain did his councillors urge upon

him the importance of first making himself strong in Scotland, and of overthrowing every monument of the Hanoverian dynasty which existed there. His impatient spirit would brook no delay, and he resolved immediately to march his army across the border. It was on the 31st of October, 1745, that Charles Edward, leaving the halls of Holyrood, never again to be pressed by the footsteps of a Stuart, departed from Edinburgh in the prosecution of his daring enterprise. His little army, of less than six thousand men, gathered almost wholly from the Highland clans, filled with his own enthusiasm, and thinking only of their duty to their long-exiled Prince, pour themselves with resistless impetuosity across the Tweed, and roll the tide of their wild warfare over the northern counties of England. He leads them on through a panic-stricken region to the town of Derby, within a hundred and twenty miles of London, and is already meditating the manner in which he shall make his entry into the capital, when the chiefs of the clans, seeing the hopelessness of the cause, refused to advance further, and forced him to return to Scotland. From that moment the prestige of the Prince is gone for ever, the terror which his reckless invasion had occasioned is dissipated, and, with dejected spirits, he leads back his army, leaving the glittering prize of all his hopes still in the undisturbed possession of the enemy of his house. He is rapidly followed in his retreat by the forces of the King, under the Duke of Cumberland; and although he more than once rallies his heroic Highlanders, and gains a victory in the battle of Falkirk, yet he is finally defeated on the fatal field of Culloden, and escapes the sword of his pursuer only to become a fugitive and a wanderer—to conceal himself in the huts of fishermen and the dens of robbers; to travel in disguises, and subsist by the charity of his adherents, until he is rescued by a French ship and borne away an outcast from the land where he had hoped to rule as king.

Such is a brief outline of what may well be denominated the most remarkable enterprise in the modern annals of England. It was undertaken with a rashness and daring, and carried forward with an energy and heroism, which give to the narrative that records it the semblance of fiction rather than of sober history. It displayed in the character of the young Prince a courage and magnanimity, a generosity, fortitude, and humanity, that enlist our warmest admiration and sympathy, and for the time make us almost forget the duplicity and treachery, the selfishness, meanness, and tyranny which had always characterized his ill-starred race. But the enter-

prise borrows many of its most romantic features from the wild chivalry of the mountain clans, "the children of poetry, gallantry, and song," who at the summons of Charles rushed from their secluded retreats, with a dauntless heroism and an unswerving loyalty that bore them unchecked almost to the very gates of London. It was the breaking forth of the prowess which had long been nursed in the bosoms of the Highland race; the last exhibition of the heroic sentiments of feudal loyalty, ere they perished for ever from the nations of Europe. Fortunate indeed was it both for England and for Scotland, for the adherents of Charles Edward and the subjects of George II., that the career of the Prince was checked ere it reached a successful termination; for had he entered the capital and secured the crown, it would have been but the beginning of another drama of civil war, terminating only in another expulsion of the Stuart race, who in a hundred trials had proved themselves the unchanging representatives of arbitrary power, the relentless executors of civil and religious tyranny.

Mr. Greene invests the character of Charles Edward with all the romantic interest which his singular adventures are so well fitted to inspire; but though he alludes to his subsequent career, he draws a veil over the melancholy decline to which his later years were subjected, and the humiliation in which his life was at length brought to a close. The estimate which he furnishes of him is alike charitable and just. Without attempting to draw a full portrait of his character, or to weigh his qualities in an accurate balance, he recites the story of his heroic enterprise, and mentions the principles and feelings which it called into action; and then leaves us to contemplate him as he sinks, "by a gradual though premature decay, till at length, abandoned by the world and forgotten of all, save a few devoted followers, whose truth held out to the last, he expired at Rome, on the 31st of January, 1788." To this brief record of the close of his life, we may add the testimony of Sir Walter Scott, that "Charles Edward, the adventurous, the gallant, and the handsome, the leader of a race of pristine valor, whose romantic qualities may be said to have died along with him, had in his latter days yielded to those humiliating habits of intoxication in which the meanest mortals seek to drown the recollection of their disappointments and miseries. . . . Amid these clouds was at length extinguished the torch which once shook itself over Britain with such terrific glare; and at last sunk in its own ashes, scarcely remembered and scarcely noted."

Were it not that our space is already exhausted, we would gladly add to this imperfect notice of the volume before us, our humble though earnest commendation of the Historical Studies to which it forms so agreeable a contribution. These studies, we are happy to perceive, are becoming more and more highly appreciated among all classes of men who care to study at all, and are now employing in their exclusive service many of the most cultivated intellects of the age. The occurrences of every day in the mighty drama of the world's affairs, are creating new demands for that knowledge of the past which they alone can supply; and the experience of every scholar who has pursued them, however humbly, in any profession or walk of life, bears constant testimony to their inestimable value as a means of liberal culture, and a source of practical wisdom.

ART. VII.—THE CHURCHES NORTH AND SOUTH IN THEIR
RELATION TO THE UNION OF THE STATES.

Speech of the Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, on presenting his Compromise Resolutions on the subject of Slavery. Delivered in the United States Senate, Feb. 5th and 6th, 1850.

Speech of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun on the subject of Slavery. March 4th, 1850.

Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster. March 7th, 1850.

Speech of the Hon. William H. Seward. March 8th, 1850.

Speech of the Hon. Lewis Cass. March 13th and 14th, 1850.

THE providence of God may say to a people: "Go forward," whilst their wisest counsellors may utterly fail of agreement as to the fitting line of march, and the law of the common equipment. The cry of millions of freemen, flushed with the prosperity of the past, and the brilliant promise of the future, may be like the voice of many waters, in its unanimous and monotonous demand of "PROGRESS." And yet, when the natural and inevitable questions follow: "WHITHERWARD?" and "How?" the old unanimity may be at once converted into the most tempestuous dissonance, and the tides of opposing interests, and the blasts of antagonistic opinion, make the whole scene like that where of old an

apostle was wrecked,—“a place where two seas met.” The speeches before us are significant indications of such a storm on our national horizon. The studied and solemn and deliberate utterances of men, in the highest councils of the Republic, they converge harmoniously in proclaiming the greatness of the crisis and its vast relations to the future history of our people; but how strongly and widely do they diverge in the counsels they suggest, and the demands they would establish. Each speaker, one who has been at some time thought of as a fitting candidate for the curule chair of highest dignity in the nation's gift; some of them versed even from their earliest youth in reading with quick sagacity all the thousandfold shifting prognostics of the popular feeling, and others of them, even down to ripest age, devoting the profoundest study of massive intellects to the history, Constitution, and destinies of the American Union,—yet the augurs see not alike, and the diviners are confounded, and the ship reels heavily through the storm, whilst the pilots dispute over the soundings which are brought them, and over the chart they are searching. Famed for boundless personal popularity and the gift of masterly negotiation and compromise, as is one,—or for the oracular sway they wield over their own districts and constituents, as is another,—or known, it may be, in all lands where our mother tongue is spoken, as expounders of our Constitution, as is a third sage among the illustrious Senators,—why see they so differently? In the mutterings of that storm, which is thus filling the public mind from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, there are many who suppose themselves to have heard afar off, but with sad distinctness, the first tollings of the knell of our national Union. Their ear has, they believe, spelled out but too surely, amid the wild turmoil of contending opinions and contrary interests, the dread syllables, “UPHARSIN,” (AND THEY ARE DIVIDING,) uttered by the voice of a Divine and overruling Destiny, over what had been, in our fathers' times, and in our own, a common country and a single government, but to remain such no longer. We will not so easily, however, lose faith in our countrymen, rash and earnest indeed, but yet, we hope, prudent and just withal; nor, above all, would we distrust too soon,—even amid our confessed provocations and desertions of Him,—the guardian care of that Patron and Refuge of our fathers, the God who has dissipated so many a boding tempest, and educed ultimate good, where man brooded gloomily over the intermediate, and, as to him it seemed, the irremediable evil. And yet it is not to be

denied that the crisis of the times passing over us is most grave, and the possible exodus of our counsellors from the present straits is yet but dimly seen.

We said, that amid all the wild and fierce controversy as to the proper form and course of it, the common sentiment might be Progress. A war, whose necessity and warrant we have no disposition here to discuss, has brought under our influence and ownership a vast range of territory, and the mines of a new-found Ophir invite the swift ships of each modern Tarshish. The migration that, in the days of our fathers, climbed feebly and slowly the lower sides of the Alleghanies, is spilling itself rapidly westward, and in streams each day broader and stronger, through the defiles and over the taller crests of the Rocky Mountains. That generation in our churches, who sent out but a few years since their missionaries to the Sandwich Islands, as if those servants of Jesus were going to the antipodes devoted, beyond recall, to the eternal renouncement of their country and of its civilization, are many of them yet surviving amongst us, to see that country hurling itself, as it were, in giant energy and speed, after these its sacred exiles,—and to behold their own government stretching the belt of its migration and sovereignty up to the Pacific shore, into immediate contiguity and closest neighborhood with these remote scenes of missionary toil. And as we have gone out towards Heathendom, so in its turn Heathendom is coming to meet us. The men of China, to whom but lately we sent our evangelists, in weary voyagings around the Cape of Good Hope, are now hasting in throngs to tenant our own American possessions in California, pitching their tents, and vending their wares, and chattering in their strange dialect upon our own soil: thus, meeting the Home Missionary in the streets of San Francisco, whilst but lately we had no hope of reaching them but by the Foreign Missionaries sent to seek them amid the thronged lanes and the myriad junks of their own Hongkong, and Shanghai, and Ningpo. “Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward.” Empire and Traffic and Charity seem alike to preach Progress. But where is the rod, and in what prophet hand, that shall point the way, and part the raging seas of popular controversy, and indicate to the ark of our national destiny a safe path and peaceful, amid the raging of the North and the South, and when deep is calling unto deep, and whilst in either section of the Republic Pride and Conscience and Interest are stirred to their profoundest abysses, and seem hurling at each other their mutual and tempestuous

defiance? The rights of the Northern and Southern States, in the common heritage, are most variously interpreted; and in what shape the common growth of the nation is to proceed, perplexes our truest patriots and our maturest statesmen. Surely, it is at such a time, if ever, that a people should remember, and remember it with prayer, that there is a God of counsel; and if the gospel of our common salvation have its adaptation to all the emergencies of all the centuries, and all the institutions of all the nations, here is a season when its lessons should be invoked and its spirit cherished.

The Jews, when carried into captivity by a heathen and despotic conqueror, were bidden to seek the peace of the land where for the time God had fixed the place of their habitation. If, under an earlier dispensation, of less expansive benevolence than is the present, this was the duty of religious men, even towards the stranger and the oppressor; with much more of emphasis are we, under the gospel, taught, in our intercourse not only with the alien and the heathen, but much more in our relations to our fellow-citizens and our fellow-Christians, to bear in mind that "Blessed are the peace-makers." Far as our Union, in these States, ministers to the peace of our own borders, and to the repose of the nations, the Christian may not lightly disturb it. Short of a revolution, we suppose there could be no legal severance of that Union. It is not a mere league and confederacy of separate sovereignties, like that connecting the partners of a commercial firm, free to withdraw, after certain arrangements, and to pursue thenceforward their several paths and divergent interests. Some such weaker and laxer bond existed indeed before the adoption of the Constitution. But, in the formation of that instrument, the people acted above, as it were, their several governments in the States. Those local authorities still retained their existence, and their distinct fields of power, and their separate officers and legislation. But the general government overlaid them, and circumfused, so to speak, its own control and sovereignty through and among the State institutions, binding them into one indissoluble whole; much, we suppose, as the worker in the rich stained glass of our own times prepares the brilliant weight, called the Millefleur, that confines the papers upon so many a library table. The ends of small vitreous tubes, highly colored and beautifully moulded, are shaped into flowers of varied hue and size: these having been first formed apart, and then arranged and bound together, the molten and colorless crystal is, at last, let in upon them, and in its pel-

lucid bonds they remain distinct, yet inseparable ; variegated in outline and coloring, but hopelessly and indissolubly one. Fixed in bonds of transparent stone, the disruption of a flower from the inclosed garland is the ruin of the whole glassy hemisphere. Even so, in the union of our States, peaceful secession seems impossible. A revolution that should shatter and recast the entire government is the only form of disunion we find ourselves able to conceive. The familiar illustration, of which we have availed ourselves, fails indeed to present the power which our Union has of growth, in the enlargement of its territories, and in the gathering of new States into the bonds of the national unity. Of progress in that shape our annals have already several instances, whose authority as precedents it seems too late to question. It is in the process of such agglomeration, that the existing crisis has begun. The form, the amount, the terms and the bounds of such increase and progress are the themes of our wide-spread and impassioned discussions. All States have not the same domestic institutions, nor the same interests as producers and traders ; and difference has become contrast, and contrast has grown into rivalry, and rivalry threatens to harden itself into settled enmity.

If these difficulties be examined in the spirit of that blessed volume where the Christian finds his oracles, and the laws of his better and eternal country, they must be discussed not merely as naked abstractions, but in their practical connections and results. It has been a peculiarity, marked and inveterate, in the legislation and revolutions of the French people, that they have been wont to assume simply some great abstract truths, and thence to reason fearlessly down to a concrete and practical result. Their institutions, so framed, have more of philosophical symmetry, apparently, at the outset ; but they have in consequence lacked on the other hand permanency and effective usefulness. The theory may have owed its seeming simplicity and harmony to the very fact of its omitting and ignoring many other principles, subordinate it may be to that first truth, on which the theory based itself, but although subordinate, yet indispensable to its successful working. They have thought that it would mar the symmetry of the chariot wheel to interpolate upon it the simple and trivial linch-pin, or to take any thought as to the brittleness of the axle upon which a wheel of such classical proportions was to revolve. The English race, on the contrary, have in their laws and constitutions been marked by the disposition rather to ascend from the complex facts of the practical or concrete,

to the abstract and theoretical. They have therefore moulded their systems of reform, and rule, and revolution, into such a shape, as to bring into closest harmony all the recognized facts, and to make the theory one of immediate, practical availability. Their Common Law, for instance, has been, like the coral islands of the Pacific, the slow accretion of myriads of concrete facts. It is thence irregular in outline as the nation's growth; but as uniform and immovable in its pervading principles, as the national character. It has been thus the slow outgrowth of that wise principle, (entitled as plausibly to the claim of infallibility, as anything human, and therefore erring, well could be,) the common sense of the many minds of a race, working in the same channels for many ages. Other and rival systems have been the birth of the uncommon sense of some solitary thinker, the work but of a single era, and of, it may be, but a single mind in that era. The author may have been an intellectual Titan, like Saul towering over the heads of all his contemporaries: but his single accumulations could hardly, in amplitude and variety and practical adaptation, have equalled the hived stores gathered patiently and wisely by an entire generation, or by a nation through its successive generations. The Gaul, a more brilliant and daring builder of theories than the Englishman, seems often ascending to some such supernal height as that where the Athenian satirist put Socrates. There, unimpeded by the difficulties of the every-day world beneath him, of hills to be levelled and streams to be bridged, he draws, in free air, his straight lines, and his angles and curves of strict geometrical accuracy. But unhappily he takes no care to fit the aerial plan to the inequalities of the terrestrial landscape; and the rivers run, and the mountains stand, in most contumacious disregard of the continuity and philosophic beauty of his plans. To give rotundity to his symmetrical outlines, he had ignored the existence of such obstacles, and expects them when thus dismissed to vanish: but so they do not, nor are they like so to do. In her last Revolution France has not found universal suffrage to include either universal enlightenment, or universal emancipation. In her first great Revolution, the Constitutions of Sièyes were admirable—on paper; but miserable failures in practice. The Bible is eminently and sternly a book of great principles, but it is also, beyond all comparison, a system of large practical wisdom, looking at facts and dealing with men, laws, and governments, as they are. There are great principles which, indeed, the Scripture puts above all usages and interests; and thus it bids a Moses turn, at the call of his God, his back on the pyramids and the shrines

of Mizraim, renouncing the treasures and forswearing the wisdom of Egypt, withstanding the enchanter and the armies of Pharaoh, crossing the pathless sea, and traversing for forty weary years the barren wilderness; and it calls a Daniel to put away the claims of gratitude to an attached monarch, and the pleadings of interest, and the allurements of rank and favor and prospective usefulness, rather than to intermit or to conceal his daily orisons. So the Christian now is required by the great unsetting stars of Truth and Duty to shape all his doings, from the management of an empire to the rule of a nursery, from the choice of his creed to the tillage of his corn-field; and whether he eat or drink or whatever he do, to bring each act and word and thought ever into the obedience and captivity of the faith. He must eye, from the entire field of his daily tasks, that throne where sits the universal Sovereign, and where must, one day, be rendered the common account, and that cross also where the world's Maker and Judge became its Redeemer. For the existence of God is the great and central concrete fact of the universe; and the Divine will or law is the great absolute principle, to which, as fact and principle, all others relate and tend. But whilst holding these first principles with most tenacious and persistent grasp, the Bible applies them with the most wondrous reference to that practical wisdom, which, as we have said, lies at the basis of all availing and enduring advancement—that view, sober and calm, of things as they are, which has formed so prominent a feature of the Anglo-Saxon character, and which contains also so much of the secret of the Anglo-Saxon's proverbial and world-wide success. The Holy Scriptures, in form and spirit, are a book of actualities rather than of abstractions. As Christ was the Word of God incarnate, so the Bible is in another sense, much of it, doctrine incarnate in the form of biography and history. The human characters, in which truth was displayed in its lesser or greater consistency, were all, including Noah and Abraham, and David and Daniel, and Peter and John, though men beloved of God, yet also surrounded with mortal imperfection; and the Fall and the Redemption—the sad heritage of the first Adam, and the free, mighty grace of the second Adam—threw their mingled radiance and shadows over the entire sublunary career of the saint whether under the earlier or the later dispensation. Perfect duties were imperfectly discharged. Progress, in the churches, and in the individual disciple, was by slow stages; and the abstract rays of Truth were seen perpetually deflected and refracted in the concrete medium, the imperfect human recipient, who embraced and confessed that truth.

Now, in developing our empire, and improving and expanding our institutions, the providence of God has set before us as a nation wide and far-reaching Progress. Our Saxon lineage and our Christian belief require that this progress should be thoroughly practical whilst it is strictly and inexorably principled. We cannot abjure or cancel our past history, or sever ourselves at will and in a moment from the national life of our forefathers. Our freedom is a legacy received from our Revolutionary ancestors, and a trust to be preserved intact for the remotest posterity; and it is also, in the sure influence for good or for ill of our conduct on all the oppressed and suffering of other lands, a sort of moral stewardship, the right use of which we owe to all who are piloting their dim and perilous way towards the like liberty, in the wake of our example and by the lights of our experience. In ordering, then, the national course, the question of Slavery at once presents itself. It is a subject vast to unwieldiness, and yet of unspeakable sensitiveness,—radically entangled with all the interests, prejudices, and feelings of the South; and yet inevitably provoking the comments of the North, from its constant recurrence in so many questions of foreign as well as domestic policy. The South contend that their institutions and their territorial bounds should expand in even line and at equal pace with those of the North, and that any advance which cuts us loose from the doings and pledges of our fathers, is a fanatical abstraction, false to the glorious Past and ruinous to the bright Future. The North claims that the law of moral progress and the enlightened sentiment of all Christendom, and even the perpetuity and success of free institutions in our own land, all alike and imperatively demand that the presence of slavery in our national institutions should be treated as that of a mortgagee who may one day be bought out, rather than a tenant in fee entitled to the perpetual transmission of his holding; and that the fathers of our Constitution, whose memory is so often invoked, spoke of this alien institution, rather as an excrescence on the body politic to be reduced and dissipated, than as a limb to be guarded and cherished.*

* Then, sir, when this Constitution was formed, this was the light in which the Convention viewed it. The Convention reflected the judgment and the sentiment of the great men of the South. A member of the other House, whom I have not the honor to know, in a recent speech, has collected extracts from these published documents. They prove the truth of what I have said. The question then was how to deal with slavery, and how to deal with it as an evil. They came to this general result: they thought that slavery could not continue in the country if the importation of slaves should cease; and they therefore provided that for a certain period the importation of slaves might be prevented by the action of the new gov-

The Southern Christian talks of the patriarchs with their servants, bought with their money, who were members of their households, even whilst angel visitants were sitting and feeding at their tent-doors,—of the slaveholder Abraham, honored by inspiration as the father of the faithful and as the friend of God,—and of Philemon, the fugitive from bondage whom Paul the apostle returned to the master from whose home and control he had absconded,—and of the infallible and omniscient Holy Ghost recognizing, in the epistles of the same apostle, the mutual and correlate duties of the master and the bondman, as remaining untouched by their common conversion, and by their entrance into the fellowship of the same apostolical churches. His fellow-disciple at the North dwells on the injunction in the New Testament that the Christian slave who might be free should the rather grasp and use the opportunity; its denunciation of the man-stealer as an atrocious sinner; and asks where the law of love, and the equal rights of a common brotherhood, would soon put the institution. Hitherto, we believe, the defense of the system at the South has been generally and we think most wisely put on the *practical* ground, that the institution came upon them from the past, and they saw not, and challenged their impugnors to show them, the way of its peaceable removal. And from the North the stress of the assault has been, we believe, derived from the *abstract* principle of man's rights, and that Freedom and Slavery were antagonistic elements, and that to commend and extend and retain even the vaunted heritage of our liberties, we must disembarass ourselves of the unnatural accompaniment to which they were fastened by cruel and Mezentian bonds, which knitted the glow of life to festering death. Of late, as it seems to us, there has been a grave and significant transfer of the grounds both of attack and of defense. The opponents of the institution seem planting their batteries more and more on the *practical* ground of evils to industry and intelligence and the slave's domestic relations, in American bondage as it exists this day amongst us, and of growing perils to the North, in the augmented demands

ernment. Twenty years were proposed by some gentleman—a Northern gentleman, I think. Many of the Southern gentlemen opposed it, as being too long. Mr. Madison especially was somewhat warm against it, and said it would bring too great an amount of that mischief into the country to allow the importation of slaves for such a period; because, in the whole of this discussion, when we are considering the sentiments and opinions in which this Constitutional provision originated, we must take along with us the fact, that the conviction of all men was, that if the importation of slaves ceased, the white race would multiply faster than the black race, and that slavery would therefore gradually wear out and expire.—*Speech of Mr. Webster.*

and dominion of the Southern branches of our Union. On these *practical* grounds its accusers are winning a greater amount and unanimity of support than they could command upon their *abstract* argument. The champions of the South, unwisely as it seems to us for their own cause, but much under the guidance of the distinguished Senator from South Carolina, seem disposed to push forward the outworks of their position, and to rally their strength around the bold ABSTRACTION that domestic servitude is not only a blessing, but a necessity to Liberty in its highest form; and that manhood never can develop itself so grandly and nobly, in a superior race, as when surrounded and buttressed by the servile ministrations of an inferior and enslaved caste. Perplexed and saddened, many a Christian, as we believe, both in the States to the North and those to the South of the Potomac, is looking with harassed solicitude on this intractable and yet inevitable theme. He is asking, what the duties really are, which, as a follower of Christ, and as a member of one of his churches, he personally owes to this ominous litigation; straining not merely or mainly even the bands which hold together the Union, but also enwrapping, as the South believes, their prosperity and honor and lives, and the well-being of those in their homes far dearer to them than life itself; and affecting, on the other hand, as many at the North contend, the character of our religion, and the maintenance not only of Freedom but of Faith on the earth. We question the competency of our legislators and our judges to give a just and abiding settlement to these questions, except as the national conscience is prepared to appreciate and sustain their compromise or their sentence. Any partial and transitory adjustment that did not content and unite the minds of the masses, must soon be again disturbed. No man can be strictly and lawfully the conscience-keeper of his fellow. Yet in a certain limited sense, in the light they shed, and the influence they win, and far as such a thing may be, the Bible-reading citizens of this Republic are, on great moral questions, the conscience-keepers of the nation. The fireside revisions, the street and rail-car discourse and comment, the votes, and the prayers of the religious men and women of the land, are no trivial element in deciding the date and the fate of any action, which the tribunals of the land, the State Legislatures, or the National Congress may take, on this grave topic.

And it is a cause of satisfaction and matter of thanksgiving before God, that our leaders in legislative debate so distinctly see and so emphatically acknowledge this fact. Mr. Cal-

houn, in describing the scission, as he deems it, already effected, of some of the strong ligaments of the Union, has said :—

The cords that bind the States together are not only many, but various in character. Among them some are spiritual or ecclesiastical,—some political.

The strongest of those of a spiritual and ecclesiastical nature consisted in the unity of the great religious denominations, all of which originally embraced the Union. All these denominations, with the exception perhaps of the Catholics, were organized very much upon the principle of our political institutions. Beginning with smaller meetings, corresponding with the political divisions of the country, their organization terminated in one great central assemblage, corresponding very much with the character of Congress. At these meetings the principal clergymen and lay members of the respective denominations from all parts of the Union met, to transact business relating to their common concerns. It was not confined to what appertained to the doctrines and discipline of the respective denominations, but extended to plans for disseminating the Bible, establishing missionaries, distributing tracts, and establishing presses for the publication of tracts, newspapers, and periodicals, with a view of diffusing religious information, and for the support of the doctrines and creeds of the denomination. All this combined contributed greatly to strengthen the bonds of the Union. The strong ties which held each denomination together, formed a strong cord to hold the whole Union together; but as powerful as they were, they have not been able to resist the explosive effect of slavery agitation.

The first of these cords which snapped under its explosive force was that of the powerful Methodist Episcopal Church. The numerous and strong ties which held it together are all broken, and its unity gone. They now form separate churches, and instead of that feeling of attachment and devotion to the interests of the whole Church which was formerly felt, they are now arrayed into two hostile bodies, engaged in litigation about what was formerly their common property.

The next cord that snapped was that of the Baptists, one of the largest and most respectable of the denominations; that of the Presbyterians is not entirely snapped, but some of its strands have given way; that of the Episcopal Church is the only one of the four great Protestant denominations which remains unbroken and entire. The strongest cord of a political character consists of the many and strong ties that have held together the two great parties, which have, with some modifications, existed from the beginning of the Government. They both extended to every portion of the Union, and had strongly contributed to hold all its parts together. But this powerful cord has proved no better than the spiritual. It resisted for a long time the explosive tendency of the agitation, but has finally snapped under its force,—if not entirely, nearly so. Nor is there one of the remaining cords which has not been greatly weakened. To this extent the Union has already been destroyed by agitation, in the only way it can be, by snapping asunder and weakening the cords which bind it together.

If the agitation goes on, the same force acting with increased intensity as has been shown, there will be nothing left to hold the States together, except force.

A consistent Baptist will not, of course, agree with the distinguished son of Carolina, in the comparison between the

province and powers of the National Congress, and those formerly occupied and wielded by the Triennial Convention of our own churches. It serves to show, however, what, in the view of a statesman of singular acuteness and energy of intellect, is the effect of religious action and organization on the political weal and unity. Another eminent Senator alludes, in strong terms, to such parting of religious union among our Methodist brethren. It is from Mr. Webster that we quote:—

There are thousands of religious men, with consciences as tender as those of any of their brethren at the North, who do not see the unlawfulness of slavery; and there are more thousands, perhaps, that, whatever they may think of it in its origin, and as a matter depending upon natural right, yet take things as they are, find slavery to be an established relation of society where they live, and see no way in which—let their opinions upon the abstract question be what they may—it is in the power of the present generation to relieve themselves from this relation. And, in this respect, candor obliges me to say that I believe they are just as conscientious, many of them—and of the religious people, all of them—as we are in the North, holding different sentiments.

Why, sir, the honorable member for South Carolina [Mr. Calhoun] the other day alluded to the separation of that great religious community, the Methodist Episcopal Church. That separation was brought about by differences of opinion upon this particular subject of slavery. I felt great concern, as that dispute went on, about the result. I was anxious—I was in hope—that the differences of opinion might be healed; because I look upon that religious community as one of the great props of religion and morals throughout the whole country, from Maine to New-Orleans. The result was against my wishes and against my hopes. I have read all their proceedings, all their arguments; but I have never yet been able to come to the conclusion that there was any real ground for that separation,—in other words, that any good could be produced by that separation.

Sir, when questions of this kind take hold of the religious sentiments of mankind, and come to be discussed in religious assemblies, by clergy and laity, there is always to be expected, and always to be feared, a great degree of excitement. It is in the nature of man, manifested by his whole history, that religious disputes are apt to become warm. Men's strength of conviction is proportioned to their view of the magnitude of the question.

In all such disputes there will sometimes be men to be found with whom everything will be absolutely wrong or absolutely right. They see the right clearly—they think others ought to; and they are disposed to establish a broad line of distinction between what they think right and what they hold to be wrong, and they are not seldom willing to establish that line upon their own conviction of the truth and justice of their own opinions. They are willing to mark and guard by placing along it a series of dogmas, as lines of boundary are marked by setting posts and stones.

There are men who, with clear perceptions as they think of their own duty, do not see how too hot a pursuit of one duty may involve them in the violation of others, or how too warm an embracement of one truth may lead them to disregard other truths equally important. As I heard it stated strongly, sir, not many days ago, these persons are disposed to

mount upon some duty as a war-horse, to drive furiously in, and upon, and over all other duties that may stand in the way.

There are men who, in times of that sort, and in disputes of that sort, are of opinion that human duties may be ascertained with the precision of mathematics. They deal with morals as with mathematics, and they think that what is right may be distinguished from what is wrong with all the precision of an algebraic equation. They have therefore none too much charity towards others who may differ from them. They are apt to think that nothing is good but what is perfectly good; that there are no compromises or modifications to be made in submission to difference of opinion, or in deference to other men's judgment. If their perspicacious vision enables them to detect a spot on the face of the sun, they think that a good reason why the sun should be struck down from heaven. They prefer the chance of running into utter darkness to living in heavenly light, if that heavenly light is to be not absolutely without any imperfection.

There are impatient men, too impatient always to give heed to the admonition of St. Paul, that we are not "to do evil that good may come," too impatient to wait for the slow progress of moral causes in the improvement of mankind. They do not remember that the doctrines and the miracles of Jesus Christ have, in eighteen hundred years, converted only a small portion of the human race; and, among the nations converted to Christianity, they forget how many vices and crimes, public and private, still prevail, and that many of them—the public crimes especially—offenses against the Christian religion, pass without exciting particular regret or indignation. Thus wars are waged, and unjust wars. I do not deny that there may be just wars; there certainly are; but it was the remark of an eminent person, not many years ago, upon the other side of the Atlantic, that it was one of the greatest reproaches to human nature that wars were sometimes necessary for the defense of nations,—that they were sometimes called for against the injustice of other nations.

In this state of sentiment upon the general nature of slavery lies the cause for a great portion of these unhappy divisions, exasperations, and reproaches, which find vent and support in different parts of the Union.

When men high in intellect and of large experience, and liable to no imputation of fanaticism, and speaking, as some of the strongest men in the Senate do, under the burden of growing years and waning strength, and in the near prospect of that grave, which, as we are fitted or unfitted for it, becomes the consummation or the extinction of all terrene glory and advancement—when men who have been, as students of the national history and guides of the nation's counsels, universally revered, thus bear witness to the civil influence of Christian men, acting in their religious character and ecclesiastical relations, it behooves the followers of the Saviour to look well to it, that their course be wise, wary, just, and meek.

We say the peace-maker must be meek. We believe that there have been errors committed, and wounds wrongfully inflicted, on the part both of the North and of the South. The writer, dwelling at the North, has ever regretted as

needless and unwarranted the division of Northern and Southern Baptists in the work of Foreign Missions. Whilst deploring the existence, and willing to share in any practicable scheme for the removal of American slavery, he has never seen the evidence that slaveholding is in itself sin; nor the right of Northern Baptists, either upon the constitutional basis of the Triennial Convention, or of the statute book of the New Testament, to assume that a slaveholding Christian was incompetent to receive appointment to our Foreign Mission service. He regrets the division that in consequence ensued, and would most earnestly hail, if any re-union be, in the present state of chilled and alienated feeling, possible, the restoration of our missionary unity; and if this cannot yet be, would seek the more free and regular interchange of fraternal messages amongst the several organizations. He believes fully, that the right of controlling the institution of slavery rests with the South itself, and that the Northern opposers of slavery have erred, alike in judgment and in charity, in some of their overcharged pictures and fierce denunciations, and in maligning or denying the high and noble examples of Christian excellence found among our churches and pastors of the South. Living among his Northern brethren, and acting in the Foreign Mission Union with them, he yet can say to some of those Northern Christians, who have been zealots in Anti-slavery, that much in their method and spirit seems to him as opposite to the temper and commands of the Master, as was the proposal he rebuked to call down fire on the village of the Samaritans. In the virulent impeachments and indiscriminating, which some friends of the negro have launched on the colony at Liberia, and on the Colonization Society which planted and has sustained it, he seems to himself to have seen much of cruel and inexcusable recklessness. The children of Plymouth Rock need not blush to own a spirit kindred to their fathers in Lott Carey. Nor should the North forget, that the South bore true testimony in the taunting reminiscence, that earlier generations of New-England had much to do in bringing the African from his native shores, and vending him and his children's children to their Southern purchasers; and that it is not fluent and cheap reproach against the successors of the purchasers, on the part of the descendants of such shippers and venders, that will wash from the ancestral monuments the "smutches" of that filthy lucre, or exempt the beams and the walls of the family mansions so reared, and yet inherited by these accusers, from the clinging curse of unrighteous gain. And whilst the Anti-

slavery ranks have numbered among their leaders men of rare virtue and piety and talent and eloquence, it is also true that besides these have been crowded on the same platform men of most selfish and tyrannical spirit, whose favorite and cheap reforms were to be in the harsh correction of their distant neighbor, and the attempted oppression of their Northern fellow-Christian who would not do their bidding, and frame his ready lip to their rude Shibboleth. And the cause has had too its wild fanatics, who to reach slavery proposed to set aside, not the Union of the States alone, but all government, and not these only, but the Christian church and the Christian ministry, the Sabbath and the Bible.

But whilst, to do our duty as Christian peace-makers in the North, we need to perceive and lament these our own local faults, the South must also know that Christians at the North—whilst acknowledging that the States South alone control their own domestic institutions—cannot relinquish their right, as freemen and brethren, to speak at all proper times, and in all due frankness, to the conscience of their fellow-citizens and fellow-Christians, with whom they yet know the practical management of the topic will remain. Nor can the South be held blameless in its imprisonment of free colored citizens from the North who may visit their neighborhood. Nor can the North recognize either the courtesy or equity of the reception given by certain Southern States, to the agent sent by one of the States at the North, to watch over the rights of their own citizens, so perilled by Southern legislation. Nor can any authority in the practice of patriarchs or the writings of apostles justify the separation of families, of husband and wife, of mother and infant child, which, if not popular, is yet not unknown nor legally forbidden at the South. Nor do American Christians at the North see that any reasoning or necessity can justify the Christians of the South in sustaining the legislation of their own States, that shuts to the slave the book of God, and makes the instruction of him in reading a penal offense. Whilst many Christians at the North believe slaveholding, abstractedly, exempt from the character of sin in itself, yet these practical accompaniments of it the religious men in Northern homes do put in the category of things sinful. And the patriots and the Christians of the States that lie toward the North star have been, and are, multitudes of them, deeply wounded at every step of the measures, planned, as they suppose, in the interests of the South, and crowding heavily on the feelings and conscience of the North—the measures that annexed Texas, and brought on the Mexican war, and

now would deny to California her equal and prompt admission, because bringing in her hand a Constitution from which slavery had been eliminated. The men, who, fearing God, and loving their country, would study the things that make for peace, cannot act, with intelligent and even-handed justice, but as they thus bear in mind that either section has its wrongs to confess and amend, its usurpations to retract, and its concessions to be exchanged, in the spirit of an equitable and principled compromise.

Ardent spirits at the South have spoken, with great distinctness of articulation, their purpose to dissever the Union unless their wrongs, as they regarded them, were remedied. We do not see, looking to our common origin, and our indivisible community of interests on so many other points than that now litigated, how a peaceable separation can be effected, or a forcible one maintained long after having been effected. Great would be the genius, indeed, of that statesman who could dissect the continent, belted by our Republic, successfully apart. When the skilful surgeon removes a limb from the human frame, the mastery of his art is shown, in dissecting out and tying up, with daring adroitness, the arteries across which the amputation cut its way. But where is to be found the political surgery, that, in dividing our national territory into two or more conterminous but hostile confederacies, could take up and duly tie the great natural arteries of the Missouri and the Mississippi? Would the North forego their free use, or could the South enforce their monopoly? And, besides these bonds which the Maker of Nature flung around us, are the railways and high roads and canals, the artificial sinews and nerves that compact together the body politic. And, closer and dearer than these, the moral ligaments, not yet dissevered, and we trust in God indissoluble, of blood and intermarriage and friendship, of a common ancestry and history, of the blood of Northern and Southern freemen watering the sods of one battle-field,—the encampment at Valley Forge amid northern snows preparing the surrender at Yorktown on the sunny plains of the South,—the memories of Bunker Hill and Ticonderoga, from the green hills and cold lakes at the North, calling ever to those of Cowpens and Fort Moultrie in the sultry South,—the intermingling counsels of a Hamilton, Jay, and Madison, that framed our common Constitution, fit compeers, though those were from New-York, and this was from Virginia, mother of heroes,—and the blending prayers from hearth and sanctuary on either side of the Potomac that commended the instrument and Union when formed to a

common Guardian, who is yet we hope the unwearied and unsleeping Patron of our freedom, our prosperity, and our unity. And yet much and justly as the Union is loved, we suppose, that there are prices demanded occasionally by Southern statesmen, for the maintenance of that bond, to which the North can never accede. Such amendment of the Constitution, as a distinguished son of the South has asked, is, we perceive, already regarded by Southern men as hopeless. The commercial classes in our Northern cities, bound by golden ties to the South, may promise liberally and boldly, in the shape of concession and securities to the South; and distinguished statesmen may expect their Northern constituents to yield their accustomed deference to large plans intended to placate and endow the South: but we think that every dispassionate observer of the popular will at the North must feel with us, that such influences, however weighty, will fail to secure sympathy, support, or endurance even, on the part of the masses at the North, for any plan or compromise that shall seem to cast upon the North the patronage and propagandism of slavery. With no partisan interests, we believe it due to every Southern Christian whom these sentences may reach, that we testify, for his better acquaintance with Northern feeling, what is, in our sober judgment, the temper of the great mass of the community around us. A Northern statesman, making such compromise, would find his constituents peremptory in refusing to ratify it, and no political influence, won by such statesman from past services, could survive the endeavor to seal such arrangement. He would be regarded as having received the brand of Southern domination, and having attempted to lead his constituents into the Caudine Forks of a needless and disgraceful surrender. We say nothing as to the justice or injustice of such construction: our remark refers merely to the spirit in which the masses would construe measures of that character. The influence of the mercantile classes in our large cities is great; but, we believe, it is, in proportion to that of other portions of the community, becoming less in political matters. Growing actually, it is not growing relatively; other sections of the commonwealth are gaining strength more rapidly. The tendency of events and influences both in the Old World and the New seems to be, that the purple and imperial mantle of sovereignty, in modern States, is sliding gradually from the sleek neck of Capital, and gathering itself upon the brawny shoulders of Labor. The sinewy arm of the new wearer will not so easily relinquish its recent honors, or suffer

the spoils to be reclaimed from its grasp. And although the ignorant prejudices of the operative classes may repel, at first, the man of darker hue, and disown with a rude disdain him and his quarrel, there seems little question as to their ultimate sympathies under the influence of the growing education, and the towering political sway of the white laborers of the North.

As dispassionate observers, watching "from the loopholes of retreat" the currents and tides that sweep around, it seems to us that the feeling is gaining ground in the New-England and the Middle States, that it is becoming the turn and the right of the North to ask rather than to give. They will, we believe, ask,—it may be with intermissions and pulses, so to speak, in the zeal of their asking, but with growing pertinacity,—the removal of the domestic slave-trade, if not the abolition of slavery, from the District of Columbia. Its present shape there, they begin to think, clothes the Union with a partial and Southern character which the Union cannot justly be permitted to display. The plea interposed by Mr. Clay in behalf of Maryland, appears to us still quite as applicable to Virginia; and yet neither nor both of those States would seem, when the Northern section gave to the Southern the advantage of accepting, on their soil, a southern domicil for the metropolis, entitled to cast over a national site and edifices, the hues of peculiar and local usages, which were invidious to a large portion of the common nation. Could the Union become itself a purchaser of slaves; could it buy, for some passing emergency, a black regiment of soldiers, such as Britain has had in Jamaica? As little can it require the North to consent that it should stretch the wings of the national eagle over the chief market of the domestic slave-trade. Is the South the host of the Union? In all courtesy, the entertainer must respect the prejudices of all his guests. The Christian must not display his hospitality by inviting his Hebrew friend to a banquet of swine's flesh.

And will the North ask still, and urge to the last the Wilmot Proviso, stamping all further additions of territory as sacred to free labor? She is divided on this, and like the mother of the Hebrews, "two nations" contend within her. It is the belief of one of these "nations," so to call the classes of thinkers at the North, that the love of the Union should, and that the ties of party allegiance, and the sway of great Northern names, must, counsel and secure the relinquishment of that Proviso, and leave the future to Providence. It is

the sentiment, quiet but firm, of another class; that the history of the past is ominous; that if the accretion of Louisiana and Florida and Texas has not sufficed, the dereliction of this contested point would be the annexation of Cuba. They believe that if the South, having by her good pleasure re-established, did by her good pleasure again abolish an United States Bank, because of imputed dangers to the government, lurking in the influence and patronage wielded by its vast *moneyed capital*; it is for the North now to look in the face the question, how far our free institutions can stand against the pressure of this vast *animated capital*, the slave property, having, what no property at the North has, its rights of direct representation in the National Councils; and whether American freedom can long bear the strain of three millions of human beings, to be indefinitely augmented by indefinite annexations,—beings not competent to own themselves, but virtually owning a large, and so far irresponsible, section of the national legislation? In this last named class of Northern thinkers are many men, little versed in political action, and who have in many things sympathized with the South,—and been taunted, it may have been, by the technical advocates of anti-slavery, as irresolute and trimming; but whose moderation was that of an anxious conscience, which on a difficult theme, would ponder long and do nothing rashly. We believe that such men are, in growing numbers, and with growing firmness of conviction, learning to dread what they regard as the aggressions of Southern influence. They have not been willing to calculate the worth of the Union: but they have very long since calculated the worth of freedom, and the value of a good conscience; and these last they know to be inestimable. And whilst, on other relations to the difficult practical question of slavery, Conscience may in them see its way yet but imperfectly, and grope dimly for an undiscerned clue; this, at least, is to them clear, that they cannot and will not, at any price, and for any considerations in the history of the glorious and united Past, or in the omens of the uncertain and troubled Future, lend themselves to the direct extension and implantation of the system of Human Bondage. They so read not the bond.

But Conscience is a variable quantity where it exists, and a ready plea where it really has little delicacy of feeling or strength of influence, some may say. And yet Conscience is, we think, a stronger and sturdier power than men, conversant only with political life, are sometimes tempted to regard it as being. Political organizations and their leaders

at times, for mere transitory and partisan purposes, appeal by their watchwords and their oratory to the national Conscience. And having wakened it to the requisite activity, and borrowed from it the needful power, for their own political ends, they lay aside the appeals, and expect the conscience of the masses to subside as quietly as their own. They misread the pages of history, and the mysteries of man's nature. In the early stages of the British Anti-slavery movement the younger Pitt made eloquent speeches against the traffic, but would not, as in other objects he favored, make it a party measure, and require his supporters to vote with him. In a later day Sir Thomas F. Buxton had the ministry then in power with him in conscientious opposition to slavery, but disaffected, on the question of expediency, to his introduction of a certain measure, which the Anti-slavery men out of Parliament were desiring to press. Pitt's speeches helped to create a national conscience which neither he nor his successors would one day be able to quell; and what, in the later days of the strife, a ministry who were favorable to the cause yet dreaded and dissuaded, Buxton, a man not in the ministry, carried against them, borne on the crest of the tide of national feeling. Statesmen err if they suppose that any strength of political organization, or any weight of personal influence, can, having evoked the storms of the people's conscience, allay them at will, and cause its convictions to be put on and put off again as easily and carelessly as a suit of court mourning. Man was not so made. The wit of Sydney Smith, in his speech on the English Reform Bill, has rendered classical the besom of Mrs. Partington, wherewith that exemplary housewife thought to sweep out the intrusive tides of the chafed Atlantic, as an image of the vanity of contending with a community once aroused and earnest. But pitiable as was the failure of the angry and diligent matron, something of contempt would have mingled with and enhanced the ludicrous piteousness of her defeat, if the good woman had been notoriously accustomed to pray for high tides. And had she lived in ancient times, when such things were believed, and had it been the current impression that the very broom-stick she wielded valiantly but vainly against the seas, had been ridden by her in her midnight flights to the tempestuous scenes of the witches' Sabbath, and that, like the old fabled hags of Lapland, she gathered the winds in bags, and made it her trade to sell them thus encased to reckless mariners who desired, in any way, a favoring breeze, a quick voyage and a gainful market, it

would have excited still less commiseration to see her busy household implement foiled before the billows which she herself had helped to heighten, and before the might of a tempest she had, in the way of trade, aided to rouse. Certainly, after having sold winds, and with the price of them in her pocket, the withered dame would not meet any excessive sympathy, as she stood attempting to ladle and sweep the wind-swept waters out, as they came in through her own wicket, and over her own threshold. If there be statesmen at the North who have appealed to the national conscience only for political purposes, afterwards disclaiming the principles they had invoked; or if legislators at the South, who have sought to bring their constituents into a stormy cry for disunion, as now the only remaining safeguard of their homes, intending naught meanwhile but to abandon the suggestion soon as the threat of it had accomplished local and partisan measures, we should not wonder to see such leaders, like Mistress Partington, sorely tried by the obstinacy of the intractable elements; and finding as little pity, in their amazed despair, as the witches once did at the hands of the Puritans of Salem. It is possible, on either side of the Potomac, to waken recklessly spirits that no leash of compromise will be able to bind.

Would the South find, in the Christians of the North generally, a disposition to vote of the national treasures for the enfranchisement of New-Mexico from the claims of Texas and slavery? We believe that Northern men might be brought (under proper safeguards as to the future and immovable metes and bounds of slave territory) to vote more liberally far than has been expected, not for that end only, but perhaps also for the gradual purchase of all slave property. But any large grants, such as have been suggested, merely for the removal of the free colored population from the South, would we believe meet signal discountenance from the Northern States. Nor is his own New-England prepared, we think, to acquiesce in the doctrine of her distinguished son, that we are pledged and bound to recognize four additional slave States from Texas, when, duly peopled, they shall present themselves at the doors of Congress. There was much in the annexation of Texas which weighed heavily on the conscience of the North; and thoughtful, moderate and Christian men, in that region, have believed, that in the mode of the arrangement, there was an indirectness, and illegality even, which it were merciful to the negotiators that the nation should forget, and the discussion of which would at

the North awake remembrances and feelings little likely to forward the wishes of the South, or the harmony of the Republic.

But, it may be asked, if the gospel have not made the act of owning a fellow-man in itself a sin, and left not therefore the Christian church the right to make the renunciation a term of admission to her pulpits or her communion, why counsel the removal of the institution? Because of the practical evil accompaniments, undoubtedly forbidden by the gospel, with which it is in so many instances entangled, and to which it so naturally tempts and tends; as marriage discouraged and abolished, parental ties rent, and the Scriptures withholden. Because of the use, which in foreign lands the despotic few, and the up-struggling many, make of this, as a dark blot, a bar sinister on our fair escutcheon. Because of its ruinous effect on so much of the territory of Southern States, recklessly exhausted; and of the striking contrast between the growth of neighboring States, where the laborer is a chattel, and where, on the other hand, he owns himself. Because of its constant presence, as an occasion of violent friction and collision, if not to become an element of ruinous and sudden explosions, in the relations and intercourse of the States North and South. Because of the desolation that reigns over the earliest settlement in Virginia, so strange a contrast with the spectacles of prosperity around the first station of the pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth; and of the neglect and forlorn decay, that hang as an atmosphere of gloom around the mansion and wide-spread domain of him, "the illustrious Southerner," as Mr. Calhoun has called him: but whom North and South recognized as their common leader and champion in the Revolutionary struggle; to whom, when living, they yielded a common obedience, service and reverence; and in whom, though dead, they claim a common and indivisible interest. Because the African, son of Ham and heir of bondage though he be, is still a brother; and if his bondage be defensible, his emancipation, where safe, is far preferable to his enslavement. Because that rising tide of Democracy, of which years since, and before the recent commotions in Europe, De Tocqueville wrote with such prophetic solemnity, as swelling and ascending around the oldest thrones of the Old World, may ebb low and ebb long; but all the sea-marks of the Past show, that it must return with a prouder crest than before, and roll its irresistible mass, in engulfing ruin, around the institutions that repudiate its principles; and we suppose involuntary servitude of man to his fellow one of these. Be-

cause reforms, early and gracefully yielded, consolidate Freedom, and become the basis of a large and sound prosperity ; but long disputed and stubbornly defied, their battle-cry becomes Insurrection, and their triumph Anarchy. Because the principles of that gospel again, to which its Divine Author has pledged the sway of the race, and the brotherhood of the race, have provided for the gradual extinction, by men's voluntary act, and in the progress of their general moral amelioration, of many social disadvantages, the removal of which that gospel has not made an imperative and immediate duty at all times. Such are wars, despotic governments, and slavery as we firmly believe.

But why insist on the matter, unless prepared now with an immediate plan for the bloodless and peaceful extirpation of the social excrescence ? Because soon, if the excrescence be left to grow, it may become questionable whether it belongs to the body or the body be a mere appendage to it, and whether the body should not be sacrificed to it, instead of being relieved from it. But where is your scheme of its quiet and gradual elimination ? We had hoped, in earlier years, that it might run its course in our country, as the bondage and villenage, so called, of England, gradually disappeared, in mediæval centuries. There were in that land villains or slaves of two classes ; the villain regardant, and the villain in gross : one attached, as a slave, to the soil, and not to be sold but with the farm where he and his fathers had dwelt, and which they had aided to till ; the other in his master's power to sell whither he would. Converting the Southern rural bondsman or field-hand into such attached slave, *adscriptitius glebæ*, as the old writers called him, appurtenant to the soil, the disruption of families now occurring would cease. The sale of the farm would carry the laborers. Give, as a second stage, to such affixed serfs, a tenure in their small huts and gardens, like the old English copyhold, once the tenure of bondsmen ; and let this, at a subsequent stage, and after a safe interval of time, become freehold. For the slaves in towns, another system must of course be devised. And thus, we can conceive, in slow succession, the slave population passing into a rural, free peasantry. We can imagine the border slave States (from rivalry of the Northern neighbor, and from the difficulty of retaining those who might be disposed as fugitives to quit their families and escape) becoming gradually impatient of, and next exempting themselves from, the institution by such graduated emancipations as washed the

slave element out of society in the States of New-York and New-Jersey ; and then we should have a line of States, forming the borderers between Slavery and Freedom, who are, in quiet regularity, passing over to the free, and leaving the line of slave States next beneath them to the same process of quiet and safe depletion, as they in their turn become the borderers. But it may be said, Has not modern emancipation proved a failure for the philanthropist, and a curse to the race enfranchised ? We are not sure of this. Haytian emancipation suffered under the double disadvantage of being entangled with the anarchical and skeptical movement, the first Revolution of France, and having lacked all precedent moral training and general education. Jamaica and the other British possessions in the West Indies are sometimes presented, as like blunders of a clumsy and meddlesome philanthropy. But has this been proved ; and is it the incapacity merely of the colored race that has occasioned it, if it were so ? Carlyle, in a late bold onslaught on our unheroic age,* has represented the negroes of Jamaica as needing, in mercy, a returning despotism to compel their industry and find them bread ; but, be it remembered, he has classed in the same category, the famishing peasantry of Ireland. A recent English physiologist of some eminence, in his published Lectures on the Celtic history and character, has insisted that notwithstanding all its brilliant qualities of genius, and wit, and bravery, and eloquence, the Celtic race, from which as we believe the distinguished son of South Carolina derived his ancestral blood, and of which he is so vigorous and noble an offshoot,—the race of Ossian and Merlin and Arthur, of Du Guesclin and of Bruce, Curran, Sheridan and Picton, of Lamennais and Chateaubriand,—is doomed necessarily to the position of a subject and waning family of the nations, before the higher endowments of the nobler Saxon stocks. We so read not the developments of Providence or the intimations of Prophecy ; but when the ethnological argument is pushed to seal the hopeless and endless inferiority of the African, it is not unbecoming that we advert to the application some make of it against the ardent and dazzling Celt. The white, as well as the black, demands, it would seem, the manacle and the field-whip. Is the world prepared to call back despotism as a relief from starvation, and to turn each hamlet and home into dungeons, as the only sure way of keeping the gaunt wolf Famine from the doors ? We doubt the general assent to such arrangement ; and we dispute the necessity not only,

* *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, No. I.

but the efficacy, of the remedy. Hunger and slavery have not always been strangers.

But allowing that the shape in which the voluntary removal of the institution by the Southern States themselves might be attempted, is yet a practical question of great obscurity and difficulty, is this a sufficient reason, that nothing should be said, in the shape of wish or hope even? We suppose, that in matters of this life even, as well as in those of transcendent moment, the concerns of the soul and eternity, a measure of faith is needful to all high endeavor and large success. It was a wise saying and grand of a great man, Oliver Cromwell, that a "man never rose so high, as when he knew not whither he was going." He meant not that one should rush rashly and blind-folded, uncalled, and he knew not whither; but that when a man eyes great public objects rather than selfish personal ends, scans most anxiously his motives but leaves results to God, ascertains the path of Duty and then grasps the arm of Providence, he is likely to find helpers and victories and advancement beyond the wildest hopes of a narrow and distrustful and selfish calculation. We believe that the history of every great work of social amelioration sustains the saying. And one who loves and honors the people of the South, in their hospitality and chivalrous honor, in their warmth of attachment and in the eminent intellect and nobleness of their statesmen, but above all, in the fervid, noble piety of many eminent names among their preachers and their private membership, may be allowed, in all frankness, to express the deep sadness he feels, at what seems to him, in the men of this generation, a want of faith, as to the desirableness and possibility of removing this social incubus. That growing unbelief in them, contrasts unhappily with the hopefulness of some great and wise men of their number in the earlier and Revolutionary times. Men like Washington and Randolph, in their dying enfranchisements, testified that in their eyes liberty was a boon and a reward to their attached dependents. Shall the men who revere their memory, now deny utterly the desirableness of manumission? The fathers looked to universal freedom as an object of distant hope, and deemed it possible though not immediately. The sons,—shall they count it impossible were it desirable—and undesirable were it possible; and thus carving the horizon out of their sky, wall themselves up in the present system as the inevitable and the perpetual lot of themselves and all who are to come after them? Having done so, you will of necessity feel our different views, as they are pervading our litera-

ture, and infiltrating our theology, an intrusion on your system: and the continued union of our two sections of the Republic will become possible, only as we adopt the same estimate, and conform ourselves to what we must regard as your unbelieving distrust of God's providence, and your needless severity of restraint upon that subject race who are with yourselves God's creatures, and therefore his care. If you charge on us the fault of deserting the ground of the Northern fathers, who accepted the Union as it was: is there not, on your part, an abandonment of the positions on this subject, firmly held and freely uttered, by your own Southern fathers, the wisest and the best of them?

But, it is said, let the North return, at least, to a faithful discharge of the engagements of the Constitution regarding the extradition of fugitive slaves. And here Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Cass, seem united in condemning the recent conduct of the North, and in requiring other and stricter enforcement of the compromises on which the Union was based. In the language of the Senator from New-York, on this topic, a favorite son of his native State, in reply to such claims and in defense of the feelings and conduct of the North as to this extradition, it has been supposed that there was a collision with the oath which binds each Senator to the support of the Constitution. We will not enter at much length into this topic of the Senatorial pledges to the Constitution. Far be it from us to counsel or palliate any light estimate of the oath, the extenuation of whose obligations, and mental reserve with whose engagements, have furnished to Protestants some of their sternest reproaches against the faithlessness of the Roman Church, especially as seen in the casuistry and practice of the Jesuit order. But we suppose any intimations, covert or direct, of an intention of Southern States to rend the Union, to be at least as blamable, on precisely the same account. We suppose, too, that any man swearing to the Constitution, swears also to the Declaration of Independence, as underlying and sustaining the former instrument. And if the Constitution, as "with bated breath," and with a studious evasion of the name of slavery,* recog-

* It may not be improper here to allude to that—I had almost said celebrated—opinion of Mr. Madison. You observe, sir, the term slavery is not used in the Constitution. The Constitution does not require that fugitive slaves shall be delivered up; it requires that persons bound to service in one State, and escaping into another, shall be delivered up. Mr. Madison opposed the introduction of the term slave or slavery into the Constitution; for he said he did not wish to see it recognized by the Constitution of the United States of America that there could be property in man.—*Speech of Mr. Webster.*

nizes the institution, it is not to be forgotten that the other and earlier charter opens with the annunciation, as of an elementary truth, of the great principle, that all men, be they of what hue or what lineage they may, are entitled to freedom. There is here, then, a necessary altercation amongst the muniments and title-deeds of our Republic; and a Senator from the North who construes the first, as in his mind overruling the last, is not so easily proved guilty to the allegiance he has vowed the Republic and the Union. The Declaration constituted the swathings, so to speak, of that infant Hercules of Freedom, for whom the Constitution supplied but at most a cradle and a go-cart. Or if the Constitution resembled rather the lion-skin on which the sturdy infant rolled, in his first gambollings, the other and earlier lay yet nearer—it was the very cuticle the creating hand drew over the nerves and veins of the child. Or to borrow an illustration from our own denominational usages, if the instrument of the Constitution resembles the Ordination Creed, the symbol of the political faith we are to promulge, full and studied, the other and earlier is not less binding and solemn—it is the baptismal confession, the profession of our national birth, and entrance into the commonwealth of nations, when, baptized into colonial death, we emerged to a new life of corporate independence. They bind alike.

But, in carrying out the Constitutional requisition, our brethren at the South should remember, that, whatever burdens this provision in the Constitution may impose on legislators and judges, it cannot come, with an equal stress, upon those who have not taken an explicit oath to the Constitution, except in the following shape. If a man, from conscientious convictions, believe certain statutes of the land to impose on him requirements which he cannot discharge and remain innocent before God, such citizen may, with equal patriotism and piety, bear meekly the full fine and imprisonment such laws enact as the penalty of disobedience, and having done this, hold himself clear, before God and man, of all further obligation. We speak of an ordinary citizen who has not, by oath voluntarily taken, pledged or seemed to pledge himself to more than such obedience. The Nonconformist history in England illustrated this, and often. Those confessors scrupled, many of them, to take the *Et cætera* oath, as it was called, binding them not only to conformity with present and existing forms, but with such others, *and so forth*, as might yet be enacted in addition. Yet the law of the land required the magistrate to tender, and them to assume the engage-

ment, and annexed grave penalties to the refusal. They refused, and so far disobeyed law : but they endured the fine and incarceration, and so far fully cleared their consciences, and yielded to Cæsar all the obedience he could rightfully ask. There are, we believe, at the North, men, and God-fearing men, not a few, who, not because they "despise dignities," but because they do supremely revere the Potentate, supremest in dignity, would confront and endure the strictest and heaviest incarceration and amercement which the laws, new or old, might devise for harborers of the fugitive slave. Let but a few such instances of the punishment rigorously exacted and meekly endured occur ; and it would be enough. He knows not the slow but sturdy North, hardly kindled, but long retentive of its fires, like its own Anthracite ;—he knows not human nature, who does not believe, that, if convictions were had under some stringent law, against a few Northern martyrs of humanity, it would soon raise a storm of sympathy and indignation, which would make the further enforcement of the law an impossibility. The Quakers, under the restored Stuarts in England, extorted from a profligate and callous government the retraction of its own penal statutes, by the meek resolution with which they confronted the penalty, until they had glutted the gaols, and disheartened the judges. And a law of extradition, severe in its sanctions, and rigorously enforced, could at the North, we firmly believe, provoke but one result—its own practical repeal, if it did not rend beyond repair the bands of the Union. In the days of Rehoboam, the strong-handed attempt to convert the whips of Solomon into stinging scorpions, served to exasperate rather than to intimidate ; and the sceptre which it was thus sought to harden was only left the more brittle by the process, to be shattered in the grasp of the popular fury.

But why should religious men feel thus ? There are, then, at the North many, not sympathizing in the Anti-slavery movement, who would quietly withstand such attempt to enhance the stringency of laws for extradition. We know one who has held, for years, that the Scriptures did not sanction the saying that slaveholding was in itself sin ; but who has held, as long and as firmly, that the fugitive slave is not, at least in many cases, to be restored to his pursuers. We suppose such opinions would, on examination, be found common. Individuals belonging to this class would not join the Vigilance Committees, to organize a regular line of refuge, relief and guidance, for the escape of the Southern bondsman ; nor when a Christian slave, kindly treated and trusted by a

Christian master, asked their advice, counsel him to abscond. But when a slave, not counselled by them, and fleeing on his own responsibility, sought at their hands food and concealment, in his perilous flight from an incensed owner, these men would, in all good conscience, feel themselves bound not to close the door, and would gird themselves to defy the statutory consequences, far as the meek endurance of penalties could be deemed defiance. They love their country and its laws, and believe them wise and good; but they do not believe their wisdom or their goodness perfect. They see, as they suppose, an older and an unerring statute, the enactment of a Ruler to whom they have vowed an entire and unquestioning and perpetual allegiance, prescribing, as they suppose, that an unhappy fugitive, who may be the slave of an unjust and oppressive master, shall find shelter and defense, nor be yielded to his master, until at least that proprietor shall have proved his gentleness and equity, and the causelessness of the slave's flight and complaint. True, indeed, it was part of God's civil jurisprudence, for the limited and transitory dispensation, the Levitical, under which the Jews were placed in Palestine. But these reasoners suppose this, like many other portions of that civil code, inspired in authorship, though meant for a certain region and age mainly, to refer to certain great and elementary principles of humanity and justice, which reason and natural right made binding, in regions for which that national code was not given, and in the centuries that elapsed before the promulgation, as in those that have ensued since the abolition of that code. Humanity to the brute beast, for instance, prescribed in the Mosaic law, was a duty, and will remain a duty, in times and in lands which the Mosaic economy was not intended to reach. And so humanity to man, much more. The mode of expressing that tenderness and sympathy to one fleeing, in certain circumstances, from a heavy yoke and the house of a cruel bondage, is given in Deuteronomy :* "*Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee : he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best : thou shalt not oppress him.*" The germs of national well-being, disclosed in the old Hebrew polity, were long overlooked by philosophers, disdainful only because of their own heedlessness and shallowness. The tendency of later times is most evidently and rapidly, to restore the name of the Pentateuch to a high place among civil codes, were it regarded merely on

* Chap. xxiii. 15, 16.

that side, and apart from the divinity of its origin, and its place in the great and unfolding scheme of Providence for the preparation, manifestation and diffusion of Messiah's one and immutable kingdom. The law of Homestead Exemption, for instance, now caught from the legislation of one State to that of another, with contagious speed, is but a fragment and reminiscence of Hebrew polity. So there may be truths of world-wide applicability, and permanent value and permanent obligation, in the precept above quoted. For the wise and safe exposition of its language it may, perchance, be advisable to go back to earlier times, and other lands, where the excited controversies of our own age and country were unknown, and could not therefore lend an unconscious bias to the mind of the interpreter. We turn to Dom Augustin Calmet, the learned Benedictine scholar, whose Dictionary on the Bible is universally known, and whose Commentary on the Scriptures Adam Clarke deemed, "without exception, the best comment ever published on the sacred writings, either by Catholics or Protestants," and as displaying in its appended dissertations, "immense learning, good sense, sound judgment, and deep piety invariably."* If this be large praise, yet much of it, at least, is not unmerited. Calmet's remarks on our portion of Scripture are, then, these :†

"v. 15. *Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant, when he shall have fled unto thee.* The law of nature itself requires, that we receive and protect those, who betake themselves to us for refuge. The laws themselves provide that, in certain cases, servants might abscond from their masters. They prescribe it also as a thing settled, that we may rightly harbor such fugitives, lest such laws should seem but to grant a permission that was in practice valueless. Nay, even the manslayer himself was allowed refuge and protection. Philo‡ observes as to the injustice of restoring to his master the slave seeking an asylum with us; and that endeavors should rather be used to reconcile the master to him, or at least to procure his sale to some new owner, the former master receiving the purchase money. If, in the latter event, the slave could have no certainty of securing an owner better than the first, he escapes one unquestionable danger, in shielding himself from the vengeful passions of the former proprietor. The Rabbins§

* Commentary by Adam Clarke. General Preface.

† We translate from the Latin version of J. D. Mansi, published at Wurtzburgh, 1781-1793, in 18 vols. quarto. Calmet's original French was not accessible to us at the time. Mansi was the learned Italian scholar, Archbishop of Lucca, who published the celebrated collection of Councils.

‡ Philo, lib. De Humanitate.

§ The Chald. Paraphrast, and other Rabbinical writers.

restrict this privilege, on the part of the slave, of escaping from a master. So also they limit his right to find shelter with some other person, holding the latter bound only to show the slave the kindness of keeping him out of the reach of his first owner. They hold, therefore, that the right extends to those slaves who have sold themselves for a stipulated price, or who escape out of a neighboring (and pagan) country, or from a Gentile master have fled into Canaan, to become there proselytes to Judaism. The initiatory rite of circumcision became the inviolable stamp and badge of freedom. Some believe that the former owner was repaid, out of the public treasury, the price of the fugitive, thus to compensate for his pecuniary loss. In this manner Judæa became a land of asylum and freedom for those renouncing idolatry. The privilege did not include, however, the case of slaves sentenced to bondage for crime, or who were so bound, either until their service had made equivalent recompense for a theft committed, or in discharge of a debt they were unable otherwise to pay, or again those whom the judges had sentenced to slavery."* (Calmet, Tom. ii., p. 742.)

If Calvin be consulted, in his exposition of the Pentateuch, he will be found—perhaps from a dread of seeming, in the fugitive from slavery, to favor the doctrine of the Romish Church, that made temples sanctuaries for the criminal fleeing only from justice; or it may be from his position in Geneva, a city whose relations made it much a shelter and resort for exiles, alike the worthiest and the vilest—leaning to a narrowed application of the precept, yet seeming to rest in the construction, "that when it was once ascertained (by course of law) that the slaves fled, not because of crime done, but from a master's excess of cruelty, the people were forbidden to repel them, to have done which would virtually have been flinging them into the shambles.† And it may be certainly inferred that a legal examination was had, from the election given them, as to the city of their abode." The illustrious scholar and jurist, Selden, in one of his great works,‡ adverts to this same passage in Deuteronomy, with the remark, after having stated that the Jews held under it the right of a Hebrew slave to abscond from a master who should carry him out of the Holy Land: "Which text is also applied to the slave who is a fugitive into the land of Israel from a Gentile

* See Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, lib. iii., c. 7, § 8.

† Or, as Matthew Henry has it: "In that case to deliver him up is to throw a lamb into the mouth of a lion."

‡ *De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebræorum*, lib. vi., cap. 8 pp. 745-6, ed. Argentorati, 1665.

master, (*Jarchi.*) For to a slave of this class that land afforded a secure refuge. Whence also *Onkelos*, at this same place, interprets it: *Thou shalt not deliver into his master's hands a slave of the Gentiles.*" Selden proceeds to observe, that to this law Josephus probably had reference, (lib. xvi. c. 1,) when that historian speaks of a statute made in the times of Herod the Great, and allowing slaves for crime to be sold out of the bounds of the kingdom, as being a statute "*in abandonment of the ancient customs of the land.*" Gill, burdened and hampered, as he often is, with the various authorities of those Rabbins in whose lore of comment he so remarkably abounded, seems undecided and obscure as to the limitations of the rule, but has hints also, like Calvin, of a legal examination as requisite into the justice of the slave's complaints. Abridge and hedge around the precept as we may, it seems to leave at least, as a central truth, unquestionable, whatever be the controversy as to its appendages and practical consequences, that an unhappy fugitive from alleged oppression is entitled, by the laws of our common humanity, to a full examination; and the fugitive from real cruelty and vice in the master has right to an inviolable shelter, even if the master, deprived of his service, be on the other hand empowered to demand from the community sheltering his servant, the just price of the slave in the market.

The Rabbins, to whose comments allusion has been made, eminently displayed that inclination of the human heart under all dispensations to exaggerate the ceremonial, that they may narrow the moral, and evaporate the spiritual elements of religion. The corrupt casuistry of Jesuitism was but a reproduction of principles, that elder traditionists and ritualists than they, the Pharisees, and the fathers of the Pharisees, betrayed, in their treatment of the Mosaic law. A moral precept like that before us requiring them to shield the fugitive, it might be from the most rapacious and warlike of their Gentile neighbors, would necessarily impose responsibilities and perils which it was, at some times, most convenient to restrict and evade. In exposing, however, the Jews to these dangers, this precept but resembled the law requiring all Jewish males to attend in person, thrice each year, the temple service. This last law would drain their entire garrisons from the frontiers and outposts of the land and leave them defenseless. But God pledged to them, whilst his faithful worshippers, special protection, that at such times the Gentiles should not covet their land. Similar Divine care was implied in regard to the believing observance of the precept concerning fugitives.

Yet with all their natural disposition to abridge a precept so onerous and perilous, even Rabbins felt themselves constrained to hold that the ties of a common faith, on the fugitive's reception of their religious rites, put him inviolably under the banners and behind the altars of the nation. So the Moslems of the East also yet feel; and on the demand made by Russia, but denied by Turkey, for the rendition of the Hungarian refugees, Bem, by becoming a Mahometan, put himself under this protection, to which Kossuth nobly refused to resort. Take the precept, when pared down by the keen edge of Rabbinical casuistry into its smallest dimensions, its defense of a proselyte fugitive, having just cause of complaint against his master, is significant in its lessons to those living under the more genial dispensation of the gospel. For Judaism was, of right, a national and hereditary system, isolating, if not exclusive, in its temper. It favored signally the lineal descendants of Abraham: yet in this one precept, it went out of its ordinary paths, to shield the alien whose veins had none of the blood of Israel. Load that precept, even with the added burden of repayment to the master for the price of his lost servant, would it not, if recognized amongst us, do good? Would it not, on the one hand, form at the South a safe check to the tyranny of a cruel or vicious master? And would it not, at the North, establish a more liberal hospitality, than perchance the Constitution yet allows, in the case of the bondsman, who, denied the Bible, and threatened, it may be, with the branding-iron, and tracked by the blood-hound, would believe liberty at all risks, and with privations and exile in its train, more desirable than such a home and such a fate at the South? And would it not, as by a gradual drainage, let off from the drowned lands some of the surplus waters that convert them into a morass? Would not such system of Northern refuge and safeguard become the cheapest form of colonization, and lead on the most feasible and quiet system of emancipation?

Now there are, at the North, those who, "in all good conscience," accept the spirit of this precept, as of perpetual obligation. Whilst they fail, on the one hand, to accord with those opponents of slavery, who, viewing it as radically and inherently sinful, demand its instant and utter abrogation; they see, on the other hand, in the Divine condemnation of those who create slaveholding, in a certain fashion, and by a certain title, but too familiar in the slave-market,—the kidnapper, and the "manstealer,"*—a strong protest of Heaven

* 1 Tim. i. 10.

against certain tenures of slave property; and they cannot, therefore, as Christians, sustain by their sympathy and support any lax system of extradition, that would, denying all jury trial to the alleged slave, put an honorable slaveholder and a perjured kidnapper on the same level, and clothe them with the same summary rights. There are those who believe themselves to see, in this remarkable provision of the Mosaic economy, a sort of valve yielding to any excessive strain of cruelty or crime on the part of a lawful master,—in some sense a safety valve, guarding the social machine from ruinous explosions,—giving to the slave hardly treated by such severity or immorality a moral and Heaven-warranted right of escape, and adding also to such right in him of escape, a correlate duty on the part of Christians to shelter that escape, and to fling themselves and their influence between the fierce pursuer and his wretched prey. Their right to show such humanity, and the imprescriptible right of him ready to perish to implore and expect that humanity, they find written in a law earlier than our Constitution, and in their eyes yet more august than that venerable instrument—the statute of our common Maker and Judge. And the law, thus explicit on the face of the Pentateuch, they suppose to be intimated afresh, in every free and prompt impulse of the soul, to right the wronged and to rescue him that is ready to die. They need quote no Pandect and collate no Rabbi or Father to establish and vindicate it. It is, in fact, a law not only independent of all human legislation, but going down below our race, and binding man to the kind use and care of the brute creation whom he bows to his yoke and attaches to his car. The very beast which, with mouth opened by miracle, reproved the prophet Balaam, was made to appeal to a law that, without statute book or advocate, even the dumb beast knows and demands;—"What have I done, that thou hast smitten me?"—the law which requires that smiting even of the brute shall not be causeless or cruel. And the slave causelessly or cruelly smitten, if that cruelty be extreme, (and is it not often so?) and if its ends be vicious, (and are they not sometimes so?) has rights on our pity and protection, by primitive and ineffaceable laws, which no Constitution was needed to legitimate, and no Constitution is competent to supersede or override. Such at least are the views of multitudes of religious men at the North, not technically proselytes to the Anti-slavery creed or shibboleth. Holding these principles, it cannot be expected that any arrangement for extradition in the crude and summary shape of the

present law will suffice them. As to any severer and heavier penalties, for the purpose of schooling and curbing such men, those who propose these must forget what manner of men the Puritan Fathers were, and how much they outlived, and wore out, of fine and confiscation and pillory and dungeon, in the parent country, under the dominion of the first and the last Stuarts. Laud threatened to "harry" them, in his own choice phrase; and, with the favor of the Crown, and all the tender mercies of the Star Chamber, in his control, there was weight in the Archbishop's threats: but Laud died on the scaffold, and the Puritans were not harried. It has been thought, that something of the vigor of the old stock yet survives. And claim not others of us to share the faith and the blood of the early companions of Roger Williams, whom the Puritans, in turn persecutors, could neither convert nor subdue? From how many a land where martyr ashes were driven on the winds and martyr blood reddened the sod,—from Holland, which in her fens stood up, strong for truth and God, against Spain, when Spain was the proudest, the richest, and the most cruel monarchy of Europe,—from France, whose Huguenots carried over Europe, and to our shore, the inextinguishable memory of persecution, rampant before Heaven in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, but failing in all its ruthlessness to extort the submission of conscience and the suppression of truth it had demanded,—from Germany, where the Saltzburgher was driven with sword and firebrand from burning home and desolated field,—from Wales, land of sturdy resistance through long centuries to the Saxon, and from Scotland and the gray hills whence covenanted Presbyterians spurned at last proud Prelacy, after all her violence,—from Bohemia and the old homes of the Moravian Brethren, and even from the borders of Italy where the Waldensian, through long centuries of midnight darkness, kept burning on mountain altars the flame of a pure gospel* fast by the strongest hold of Antichrist, where Satan's seat is,—from how many a tribe, and a country, memorable for the inextinguishable love of truth, and the irrepressible energies of Conscience, have our colonial fathers come.

Those colonists settled in the South, as well as the North: and whilst this should serve to remind our brethren below the Potomac that Force avails little against Faith, that same common origin, and these blended memories of our martyr

* Some of the Waldensians were among the early emigrants to one of our Southern States.

fathers, shall they not as well remind those who reside above the Potomac that the Union is a glorious, and ought to be cherished as an inestimable, portion of our common birth-right?

Does it seem to any that secular enfranchisements are entirely beneath the regard of the Christian? But has not his Master selected, as the fitting emblem of his own priceless and endless salvation, these terrestrial emancipations; and do not the latter come, naturally and necessarily, in the train of the truth and holiness secured by the former? What is the Messiah's own favorite title but that of the REDEEMER—the BUYER BACK FROM BONDAGE? And to what are the invitations of His gospel habitually and daily compared, but to that trump of JUBILEE, whose glad notes, ringing over hill and valley, announced to the pining serf and exile the term of his servitude—the falling of his bonds, and the restoration of his home? We allow, freely and gratefully, that the bondage Christ breaks is the worst of all bondage, for it is spiritual; and the home He restores is the best of all homes, for it is celestial and eternal. But this very selection of the imagery for our Lord's titles and proclamations, shows sufficiently, that even civil freedom and an earthly home are not boons to be despised by the feeble when peacefully attainable, or to be denied by the powerful where safely allowable.

With the practical difficulties that beset the vexed subject now before Congress, and the darkness in which such great men so widely differ, and so sternly debate, how much need we to remember the worth of a better wisdom than man's laws can suggest, or man's intellect supply. Over the embittered discussion, God, even whilst we are writing, has cast the awful and calming gloom of a great sorrow. One of the mightiest and noblest intellects in the nation has departed from us. After one speech prepared by him and delivered—but ineffectually—and with another in the course of dictation, JOHN C. CALHOUN has passed into those realities of eternity, before which even the vital interests of a great nation, terrene and transitory as these last are, pale and dwindle. Let us remember, that whilst the counsellors may be thus removed, the greater Giver of the counsellor, Himself the only Eternal and Infallible Teacher, lives yet, awaiting our petitions, and ready, if trusted and invoked, to repeat and augment, in our behalf, all the wonders of deliverance and conciliation that have marked our earlier history. And in the prayers needed to draw down His mighty interposition, and availing

to secure it, the supplications of either sex and of every age—the devotions of the loneliest closet, and of the lowliest altar—may have greater potency for good than all that students have written or statesmen elaborated. When Paul was tossing on the Adriatic and beating against the tempestuous Euroclydon, the bark in which he sailed was seemingly strained, and they “used helps, under-girding the ship.” These are supposed to have been cables, and perhaps other sea-tackling, passed around and beneath the body of the ship; as in the voyages of one of the companions of Cook the circumnavigator, sails were passed beneath the keel and sides, so prepared as to staunch and close the opening seams of the vessel. Even thus is it with the ship of the State, in such days of tossing and peril as have now overtaken her. The remedies are not to be those only—or even those mainly—applied, before all eyes, in methods which “*come with observation*,” to the sails and the masts and the cordage, so to speak, of the vessel above her decks: but those used beneath the surface of public life, in the intercourse of private society, in the discussions of the hearth and the way, and above all else, in the devotions of the homes where God’s Word is and where His presence often shines. Though rent sails or crashing masts may be a more noticeable disaster, the mariner knows that torn sheathing or rotten planks in the submerged hulk of the vessel bring far more dreadful and remediless ruin than do the former. And even such vital position do the homes and sanctuaries of a land occupy. They are doing a more modest, but also a graver and more indispensable work, than the statesmanship which, in the public eyes, furls the sails and mans the rigging. Let those homes and sanctuaries now strengthen themselves by prayer. Let the closets and the altars of the land, North and South, gather all their force of petition around Him who is the seasonable and effectual Helper, the Hearer of prayer, and thus straining towards each other, cement the wounds and rifts of the State. Let them, in the spirit in which their pious forefathers achieved Freedom, now maintain Union; and the ship of the State shall, thus “under-girded,” ride the billows unharmed, and instead of becoming a wreck, over which no lover of freedom could rejoice, survive as a glorious galley and a rich argosy, bearing down to latest ages her inestimable freight, in the institutions that have come to us from the patriots, the saints and the martyrs of our long and glorious ancestry.

ART. VIII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D. D., LL. D.
By his son-in-law, the Rev. WM. HANNA, LL. D. In three volumes.
Vol. I. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.

Notwithstanding our horror of big books of individual biography, and a kind of instinctive aversion or grievous discouragement which comes over us when numerous volumes are announced, to tell the world after a man is dead all about the sayings and doings with which he filled the world when he was alive, we are forced to make some exceptions to this salutary general rule. Nor can there be room for doubt that Dr. Chalmers's case furnishes one of the signal exceptions. It is not merely that he was a great and good man; possibly there may have been others quite as great and good, for whom a much briefer memorial would amply suffice. But in his life's history there has been an unusually instructive development of the falsity and perilous influence of some prominent principles, to which many great and good men cling with marvellous tenacity, and from which it may require more than one capital instance like the present effectually to divorce them. Gladly would we await the completion of this memoir, and then give to the consideration of the whole work a full-length review, such as the importance of some of the principles here involved seems to demand. But several months will elapse before the closing volumes of this memoir will be published, and in the meantime through other channels, even if we were to withhold any notice, the interesting incidents of this volume would be finding their way to the public eye. No option seems left us therefore but to follow in the path of contemporary journals, and give immediately some sketch of this memoir as its several parts are issued, accompanied with hints rather than full-length discussions, on some great principles which are here involved.

The plan of the memoir is essentially that of the class entitled autobiographies. The able and discreet compiler frankly states that he has done little more than select, arrange and weave into a continuous narrative those materials which his family already possessed, or which friends and correspondents kindly presented. Nor has he obtruded his own opinions, comments, excuses, or laudations on what Chalmers says of himself and his own history. This kind of officious impertinence is sometimes prodigiously provoking, when some very little man undertakes to be the expositor and oracle of an individual for whom he was incompetent to hold a candle or loose a shoe-string. The son-in-law of Dr. Chalmers has rightly judged that the public would desire no such services at his hands. Hence there is no demand made on us to look at either faults or excellences through any medium of his devising. The man and his acts are before you, to be looked at and judged as each one's capacity and principles dictate.

The first chapter, which of necessity is an exception to the above general remarks, contains a brief sketch of the birth-place, genealogy, childhood, college life, and license of the great Scotchman. Dr. Chalmers, the sixth child and fourth son in a crowded household of fourteen children, was born at Anstruther, a little seaport town on the Fifeshire coast, the 17th March, 1780. When two years old he was committed to a nurse, whose

cruelty and deceitfulness haunted his memory through life. This sent him of his own accord to school at three years of age, less drawn by love of learning than driven by domestic persecution. His school-fellows remember him as one of the idlest, strongest, merriest, and most generous-hearted boys in Anstruther school. Altogether unmischievous in his mirth, he could not bear that either falsehood or blasphemy should mingle with it. Generously did he always use his own greater strength to defend the weak and injured, who looked to him as their natural protector. Among the earliest books he read with absorbing delight was the *Pilgrim's Progress*. He saw and heard too much of ministers not to have early suggested to him the idea of becoming one; and as soon as it was suggested it was embraced. Before twelve years of age he enrolled himself as a student in the United College of St. Andrews. His knowledge both of English and Latin was very defective, which unfitted him to profit, for the first two years, by his college residence. His third session, that of 1793-4, was his intellectual birth-time. His intellectual energies then put themselves forth spontaneously, ardently, undividedly, and perseveringly on his mathematical studies. Ethics and political economy soon gained his attention; and in 1795 he was enrolled as a student of divinity. To theological studies he seems however to have devoted but a very small degree of interest for a long period after. The first book which awakened his interest in theology was Edwards on the Will, which he studied with intense and absorbed attention. A quarter of a century later he thus reverts to some of his feelings about this time: "I remember, when a student of divinity, and long ere I could relish evangelical sentiment, I spent nearly a twelvemonth in a sort of mental elysium, and the one idea which ministered to my soul all its rapture was the magnificence of the Godhead, and the universal subordination of all things to the one great purpose for which He evolved and was supporting creation." His custom then was to wander early in the morning into the country, that amid the quiet scenes of nature he might luxuriate in the glorious conception. His first public prayer in the University hall was so original and so eloquently worded, that universal wonder and very general admiration were excited by it. In the debating clubs he somewhat distinguished himself, having an unlimited command of words, and could speak for any length of time on almost any subject. In the last year of his course of studies he exercised himself in the vocation of private tutor in a family who could not or did not appreciate his worth, and who made his condition miserable. After the usual formalities, he was licensed as a preacher of the Gospel on the 31st of July, 1799. It was some time however after this that he first attempted to preach, and a much longer time before he knew, or loved, or preached the true Gospel of Christ.

In 1803 he was ordained as pastor of the parish of Kilmany, in an humble valley in the south of Scotland, among a purely agricultural population. His own charge did not exceed one hundred and fifty families, and the retirement and sequestration were eminently favorable to the habits of studiousness which at most periods of his life Dr. Chalmers evinced. But the total unfitness of the man for the solemn service of watching for souls, then and for seven years afterward, is one of the most noticeable and instructive features of this whole development. It is not too much to say that, for this length of time at least, he was manifestly in an unconverted state, giving himself up habitually to the ridicule of evangelical piety and zeal, while in the free if not frequent practice of cards, theatre-going, dancing, swearing, drinking his three glasses or more at a sitting, and other kindred improprieties, (the evidences of all which this memoir faithfully preserves;) but above all was he giving himself up to

an idolatrous regard for intellectual superiority, the gross coveting—"anxious vanity," is his own confession—of mere worldly eminence, and an utter disregard of the meekness and the self-renouncing spirit which true Christianity always promotes.

Now we cannot but ask, in this connection, what must be that establishment of religion worth which secured to the people such a minister? For this was and is the legitimate and usual result of linking Church and State; making the latter the patron and controller, and the former the abused and underling partner in this monstrous compound of villainy and abuse. Let it not be said or claimed that this instance was only an exception to those general rules which ordinarily secure better and worthier results. The history of religious establishments will not substantiate any such claim; but rather will show that the prevailing, the usual tendency is to a result quite as bad as this. Indeed, the only thing here to be regarded as an exception is the reclamation which the wonder-working grace of God by its signal interposition made, in snatching him as a brand from the burning, and bringing him by a way which he knew not and sought not to know himself as an unregenerate soul, far from righteousness and from Gospel peace. This was in no way the result of his most unnatural position. Indeed that false position, even after his eyes were partially opened to its enormity and wrong, threatened in connection with a heart very proud and unyielding to draw him away from the Gospel remedy, or from a cordial acceptance and a grateful and public acknowledgment of it. How great and protracted were his struggles in this respect, his private, soul-history for the years 1810-11, and many subsequent records also, abundantly evince. A combination of afflictive and other arrangements, in the good providence of God, brought him through this marvellous change,—brought him in fact from death to life. The whole of this portion of the memoir is intensely interesting; but at the same time is of a character impossible to be abridged or condensed into such limits as a notice will allow. We shall do our readers the best service by entreating them to peruse it with the profound thoughtfulness which it deserves. Now from this point mark the astonishing change in all the thoughts and aspirations of his mind, and indeed in the very current of his soul. Scarcely more marked was that transition in the life of Saul of Tarsus, when Jesus met and converted him, than was the transformation in the interior and exterior life of Chalmers. How his heart now yearns for the spiritual renovation of his kindred, his neighbors! With how different a disposition and manner does he go about the discharge of his parochial duties! Formerly he was abundantly satisfied if one day of the six were each week given to them. His short rhapsody of a sermon, oftentimes then not begun till the Sabbath morning, cost him little time or care; and the other duties of a minister were conceived of and executed in a similar way. But now he ceases not to warn and entreat every one, publicly and from house to house, night and day, with tears, to flee unto Christ, and escape the wrath to come.

The manse and the church of Kilmany alike feel the pulsations of a new life, which speedily spreads its influences on every side. Some indeed mock and sneer; but the greater part listen and ponder with becoming seriousness. They cannot fail to inquire what these things mean. Not a few, taught both by his example and his counsels, become wise unto salvation. The joy of this success is not now the self-exaltation which once he indulged. He has learned to give to God all the glory; and he becomes more sweetly humbled and self-renouncing by the very evidences of his usefulness.

More than half of this volume is filled with those first fruits of the

great change, which both the heart and the life of its subject exhibited. His private journal has been largely drawn from, and his letters to members of his family and to other intimate friends make, when collated and arranged as here we find them, a full-length portrait of the man. It is one which the amateur of such artistic skill as is here displayed may study with abundant profit. Indeed the struggles for excellence in the divine life have rarely been delineated in a manner at once so engaging and instructive. They deserve a repeated perusal, and will abundantly reward it.

More than nine years after his ordination he sought and found a fit companion of his domestic joys and sorrows. Some approximation to this deliberateness of procedure might well be commended to the imitation of a host of half-fledged striplings in the ministry, whose impatience of delay in the consummation of their anticipated bliss in connubial life too often awakens fears of their lack of prudence and wisdom in other and higher relations.

Dr. Chalmers's intercourse with Andrew Fuller, on one of his excursions to Scotland for the missions in India, and the mutual and high regard which at once they felt for each other, is a delightful feature in this memoir. It could scarcely have been otherwise. Such master minds are drawn towards each other by the force of a double affinity. How sweet the thought, that they are now together drinking from the river of life above, whose waters they were here so zealously engaged in different ways and spheres in sending forth to famishing and dying nations.

This volume closes with the transfer of its subject from the humble and lonely retreat at Kilmany to the bustling scene of his mid-day toil of life, in the Tron church in Glasgow; in all the transactions connected with which change Dr. Chalmers evinced a most commendable discreetness, indicative of a mind richly imbued with the wisdom which is from above. No ambitious aspirings now ruffle the serene equanimity of his soul; yet when the exigency arrives, and the unsought decision must be made by him, he is equal to the emergency. The reasons, pro and con, for this removal and against it, as they are here preserved at length, may be profitably considered by those in similar circumstances. But we cannot let slip so important an occasion to mark with its merited reprobation the system of patronage which all established churches are subject to; and which in the present case, notwithstanding the almost unanimous wishes of the parishioners and their session, came within a hair's breadth of defeating the wise choice of Chalmers as the pastor of this church, because, forsooth, the appointing power lay with the City Council! How long can sensible, religious men tolerate and plead for abuses so flagrant,—so eminently destructive of the hope of either the purity or efficiency of the religion of Christ? *

A Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. Edited by JOHN KITTO, D. D., F. S. A., Editor of the "Pictorial Bible," Author of the "History and Physical Geography of Palestine," &c. &c. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. In two volumes. New-York: Mark H. Newman. Cincinnati: William H. Moore. Large 8vo, pp. 884,994.

This work had its origin in the conviction of the learned editor that the existing state of Biblical Literature furnished more ample stores of knowledge, illustrative of the Sacred Scriptures, than could be found in Calmet or in any of the more modern and more superficial works of the same kind. And yet the bringing together of these stores in the prep-

aration of a Cyclopædia was a larger task than any one man might hope to perform. Dr. Kitto, therefore, having fixed the plan of his work, called in the aid of learned contributors on particular subjects, selecting from among the best scholars of our times, from several countries, and from several branches of the Christian family. Of these contributors we have counted forty, and we observe among them the honored names of Drs. Pye Smith, Davidson, Tholuck, and Leonard Woods, and of our own denomination, Dr. Davies, and the Rev. Messrs. Gotch and Ryland. Neander was invited to write the article on Baptism, but his engagements compelled him to make over the task to his "dear friend" J. Jacobi, of the same University, himself inspecting it however before it was forwarded. "Infant Baptism," says this writer, "was established neither by Christ nor the apostles. In all places where we find the necessity of baptism notified, either in a dogmatic or historical point of view, it is evident that it was only meant for those who were capable of comprehending the word preached, and of being converted to Christ by an act of their own will." "Many circumstances conspired early to introduce the practice of infant baptizing. The confusion between the outward and inward conditions of baptism, and the magical effect that was imputed to it; confusion of thought about the visible and invisible church, condemning all those who did not belong to the former; the doctrine of the natural corruption of man so closely connected with the preceding; and, finally, the desire of distinguishing Christian children from the Jewish and Heathen, and of commending them more effectually to the care of the Christian community,—all these circumstances and many more have contributed to the introduction of infant baptism at a very early period. But," continues the writer, "on the other hand, the baptism of children is not at all at variance with the principle of Christian baptism in general, after what we have observed on the separation of regeneration and baptism. For, since it cannot be determined when the former begins, the real test of its existence lying only in the holiness continued to the end of man's life, the fittest point for baptism is evidently at the beginning of life." "Nature and experience teach us . . . to retain the baptism of children, now that it is introduced." We can very readily accept the historical testimony here adduced, and as coming from a Pædobaptist it is valuable; but the support for an unappointed ordinance which the writer works out is another matter, and to us a lame conclusion. The introduction of this article is an honorable illustration of the general liberality and comprehensiveness of the work. There is nothing in the work, as we have seen, which savors of latitudinarianism, but there is the purpose, well accomplished, of bringing from every practicable source the results of modern research and criticism in illustration of the Bible. It is not necessary to say that the work is copious,—1800 closely printed large octavo pages sufficiently attest that; it is proper to say, however, that the subjects introduced are intended to meet every known want within the sphere which it is intended to supply. We regard it as highly valuable, not to say indispensable, and even that would be hardly saying too much, to the public teachers of religion, and valuable likewise to Sunday-school teachers, and to all intelligent students of the sacred volume. It is eminently learned, yet, except on occasional subjects, fully appreciable by readers generally, and indeed was intended to be not only a critical but a popular Cyclopædia. For further information concerning it the reader can turn to the advertising sheet which accompanies the present number of this Review.

Baptism, and the Terms of Communion: An Argument. By RICHARD FULLER. Baltimore: Cushing & Brother. 12mo, pp. 204.

The volume here given to the public, like the sermons of which it contains the substance, was prepared by request, and this request, we believe, grew out of peculiar local circumstances, the indications of which are in a few instances apparent. The merits of the work have, however, no special local interest. It is "an argument" for the ordinances of Christ in their primitive simplicity, and as such is appropriately addressed to all Christian believers. It does not aspire to the rank of an original investigation for the learned only, but combines the results of many previous investigations, arranged with logical skill, and urged with effective eloquence. More than all, it is pervaded with a spirit of eminent charitableness and courtesy. The legal education and habits of the author are manifest in the entire construction of the work. We seem to see him with his minutes of evidence gathered from every quarter, standing in the presence of a jury and weaving proofs into an irresistible argument,—and this in the spirit which ought to sanctify legal proceedings, the love of truth and justice. We know of no popular work on baptism which will be more likely to be effective. We understand that it is to be stereotyped, and we would intimate the desirableness of better mechanical execution, and of the addition of a few references which shall more clearly define the sources of evidence.

There are a few introductory paragraphs (pp. 9–11) to which we are constrained to express an objection. They have no reference, however, to the merits of the "argument," and might be altogether omitted without damage. We notice them because they go to confirm some popular errors, the removal of which is important. We extract the following passage:—

Now it is deeply to be deplored that, in our English version of the Bible, one word of this commission (Matt. xxviii. 19) is not translated, but only transferred. This word is "*baptized*." In the original Greek it is *baptistheis*; so that, while all the other words are rendered into English, this is not; we have only the Greek, with an English termination.

We do not understand the fact to be as here stated. The Greek βαπτίζω passed in the first instance into the Latin *baptizo*, and became thoroughly domesticated in that language while as yet the Latin was a spoken tongue. The Latin language, including this word, passed, in its turn, to a very large extent into the languages of Western Europe. The English language was a late formation. The Norman Conquest (A. D. 1066) brought in the Norman French, with its large admixtures of Latin and Greek-Latin, and grafted these elements on the Anglo-Saxon stock. From this amalgamation came forth the English language, in the infancy of which the word *baptize* is found in common use. It occurs in Robert of Gloucester, and in Robert of Brunne, the former of whom wrote about 1280. Sir John Mandeville, "usually held as the first English *prose* writer," uses it. Returning from his thirty-four years' travels in 1356, he wrote an account of all he had seen, (and some more,) originally in Latin, then translated it into French, and then into English, "that every man of my nacioun may undirstonde it." The Vision of Pierce Ploughman, a popular poem, written in the language of the people, and one of the leading instruments in promoting the Wickliffean Reformation,—the Pilgrim's Progress of that time,—contains it as a familiar word. So too it is found in Chaucer and Gower. Indeed it belonged as truly to the English language of that time, as any word of Latin or Greek-Latin origin to be

found in old English literature. When Wickliffe inserted it in his version of the Scriptures, therefore, he inserted a word which was perfectly familiar to his readers of every class,—a word which was no more a stranger and foreigner, but a fellow-citizen in the language of the household of faith. His justification is the justification of translators who succeeded him. And this being historically true, we regret to find the weighty endorsement of Dr. Fuller's name given to the statement, that "*kereuxatize*" ("*preach*") might have been retained in the translation with no more absurdity than "*baptize*." There is this difference. If "*kereuxatize*" had been used, no English reader would have understood it, because it was not an English word; "*baptize*" was properly used because it was an English word, universally intelligible. To have put "*kereuxatize*" into the English version then would have been like putting "*baptize*" into the Burmese version now, an unmeaning transfer, and not an intelligible translation. "*Baptize*" in the English version is both a transfer and a translation; in the Burmese it would be a transfer only. In the one case right, therefore, and in the other wrong.

Highly as we esteem Dr. Fuller's book, we could not in good faith omit from a notice of it this objection, to which we most respectfully invite his consideration,—and this we do with the more freedom because we believe him desirous to be accurate.

The Englishman's Greek Concordance of the New Testament: being an attempt at a Verbal Connection between the English and Greek Texts; including a Concordance to the Proper Names, with Indexes, Greek-English and English-Greek. New-York: Harper & Brothers. Large 8vo, pp. 882.

It was the saying of Bishop Horsley, "that the most illiterate Christian, if he can read his English Bible, and will take the pains in reading it to study the parallel passages, without any other commentary, will not only attain that practical knowledge which is necessary to salvation, but will become learned in everything relating to his religion." The truth of this saying every attentive observer of Bible-reading Christians will have noticed. In the humblest walks of life will be found those who with no higher advantages, and with these well employed, have attained elevations of Scripture knowledge, to which the half-worldly, and those seeking their knowledge of divine truth through secondary sources, will never reach. And yet it does not follow that advantages for Biblical study should not be increased. If those who compare Scripture with Scripture, and so increase their stores of knowledge, will record the methods by which they have made progress, their experience may prove a light to others, and help so derived is not to be lightly valued. It was in such studies, such comparisons of Scripture with Scripture, that this book had its rise. It is not a book for the illiterate indeed, but the Greek which is in it need be no terror to an intelligent English reader. It is the *Englishman's Greek Concordance*. It contains all the Greek words of the New Testament, alphabetically arranged, and under each word all the passages from the English New Testament in which the translation of that word occurs, the translation in each case being in Italics. Then follows an English-Greek Index, by the aid of which any Greek word may be found, and then a Greek-English Index by which any English word may be found. So, if the English reader wishes to find how many times and in what connection the words "*atonement*," "*reconciliation*," occur, they being both translations of the same word, by turning to either of them in the English-Greek Index,

he will find the reference, "*καταλλαγή*, 359." Turning then to that page he will find:—

καταλλαγή, *katallagee*.

Rom. v. 11, by whom we have now received the *atonement*, (lit. *reconciliation*.)

xi. 15, the *reconciling* of the world.

2 Cor. v. 18, the ministry of *reconciliation*.

19, the word of *reconciliation*.

It will readily be seen how much such a work will aid the student of the Scriptures, how often it will enable him to understand and appreciate the comments of critical scholars, and especially if he have some knowledge of the Greek language. It will be found too an exceedingly convenient reference for the study-table of the minister, in those numerous cases constantly occurring, where the investigation required does not demand profounder inquiries. It has been prepared with great painstaking and correctness, and is very handsomely printed and very substantially bound. Its history, given in the introductory pages, is a curious item of literature, and greatly creditable to the piety and zeal of Mr. Wigram, the principal author of the work.

The Law Student, or Guides to the Study of the Law in its Principles.

By JOHN ANTHON. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo, pp. 384.

This work is unlike the introductions to legal studies with which the members of the profession are familiar, in that its aim is by the citing of cases to lead to the principles which govern them, and thus to illustrate the business of every student, *rerum cognoscere causas*. The theses under which cases are cited and commentaries given are thirty-six in number, and embrace such a range of topics as serves to illustrate the real nature of law, and the true business and importance of the legal profession. The style of the volume is elegant and perspicuous, and is often adorned with well chosen classical allusions; the tone is that of a lawyer who appreciates and illustrates his profession, and for that tone's sake as well as for its general value, we commend the work heartily to all law students and to all lawyers. The public reproach of the profession will cease when its members are formed after such a model as these pages delineate. Nor do we recommend these pages to lawyers and law students alone. It has long been our conviction that the clerical profession should not be unfamiliar with the law. Hours spent in the study of Blackstone and Kent, and of those writers on particular branches whose business it is to develop the principles of law, are hours usefully spent in preparation for ministerial duties. To understand principles and how to seek them out from facts and movements, are acquisitions not to be overlooked in the great work of instructing and regenerating mankind. Indeed these pages to every intelligent reader are inviting and useful. Law in its broad and truly practical sense is not a code in details, but the principle of justice breathing itself forth into the business of mankind, and it is wise in every man to study diligently whatever may lead his mind through the outward facts of his vocation to the interior principle which at once defines his duty and vindicates his rights. The work before us is elegantly printed, and bound in handsome law-binding. We observed one or two typographical blunders which are a blemish.

Lectures and Essays. By HENRY GILES. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 12mo, pp. 300, 317.

Those who have heard the lectures of Mr. Giles will be glad to avail themselves of an opportunity to renew the pleasure which those lectures

have furnished. The extraordinary facility with which he analyzes his subjects, and the glow of feeling with which he invests everything of which he speaks, retain the attractions upon the printed page which contributed so largely to the interest of the spoken productions. The tones of his winning voice are lost indeed, but the same easy-flowing sentences are here, and so imbued with his own spirit as to have the very warmth of life. Mr. Giles has been among the most successful of lecturers, and this collection of his writings will gain a fame wider in extent, and not less enviable. The subjects are, Falstaff, Crabbe, Moral Philosophy of Byron's Life, Moral Spirit of Byron's Genius, Ebenezer Elliott, Oliver Goldsmith, Spirit of Irish History, Ireland and the Irish, The Worth of Liberty, True Manhood, The Pulpit, Patriotism, Economies, Music, The Young Musician, A Day in Springfield, Chatterton, Carlyle, Savage, and Dermody.

It is scarcely necessary for us to say that these volumes, like all those which proceed from the same house, are executed in the neatest and most perfect style.

Modern Literature and Literary Men: Being a Second Gallery of Literary Portraits. By GEORGE GILFILLAN. Reprinted entire from the London Edition. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton. Pp. 376.

Mr. Gilfillan is a clergyman of the Established Church of Scotland, and has evidently devoted himself with unusual zeal to the study of modern English literature, and the lives of its authors. The volume of sketches which he published several years ago was very favorably received and widely read, both in Great Britain and in this country, and the reputation which it gained for him will undoubtedly secure the favor of the public for any other production of his pen. The present volume is a supplement to the former, and in our judgment possesses superior interest. It contains twenty-five sketches of eminent literary men, nearly all of them of the present generation, and the larger part even now among the living. Among them we find the names of Crabbe, John Foster, Macaulay, George Croly, Tennyson, Professor Nichol, Sydney Smith, and Isaac Taylor, together with those of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Professor Longfellow, who are the only representatives of the literature of America. In the sketches which are given of the various literary men who are made to pass in review before us, the author introduces much valuable information respecting their personal history, and many striking views of literature and human life. He is evidently a nice and discriminating observer of character; and his criticisms, if they are not always just or always in good taste, never fail to awaken interest in the mind of the reader. In several instances he portrays characters which were introduced in his former volume, and as they have sat to him again, he has generally improved the portraiture. He divides the leading authors of the age into three classes: 1st. Those who have written avowedly and entirely for the few; 2d. Those who have written principally for the many; 3d. Those who have sought their audiences in both classes, and have succeeded in forming to some extent at once an exoteric and esoteric school of admirers. A division like this, though far enough from being a philosophical classification, is yet very convenient for the discursive descriptions which it is the design of his book to present. The style is in general striking and bold, the characterization clear and strongly marked, and the personal sketches are always entertaining, and usually accurate and instructive. It is a book which readers of all grades of intellectual culture will peruse with interest.

Theophany, or the Manifestation of God in Jesus Christ; with a Supplement, touching the Theories of the Rev. Dr. Bushnell. By ROBERT TURNBULL. Second Edition. Hartford: Brockett, Fuller & Co. 1849. 12mo, pp. 230, 77.

The writer of this volume presents in his intellectual habits and productions a favorable contrast with some of his contemporaries, and particularly with the writer, much known of late, whose eccentric theories are alluded to on this title page. Not less given to philosophical studies than they, with not less of that acumen which is essential to philosophical insight and speculation, he bears always with him that profound reverence for the unquestionable authority of Revelation which becomes the character and profession of a Christian minister. Indeed the pages of the work before us are sanctified by the spirit of Christian docility which they breathe. There is in them no straying from old land-marks, no audacious wanderings in the regions of unexplored intellectuality; the writer sits at the feet of Christ and his apostles, and illustrates and vindicates the truth as thence derived. The first part of the work sketches rapidly the life of Christ; the second brings out from that life thus historically considered the proofs and designs of a Divine Presence. The Supplement forms an elaborate and conclusive refutation of the theories of Dr. Bushnell. This had indeed been done indirectly in the body of the work; here it forms a distinct and important purpose.

We are glad to see the "second edition" of such a work, and congratulate the author on this indication of its usefulness. And we ought to say that its usefulness is by no means confined to its polemical character and bearings. It is a practical work. We rose from the reading of it refreshed in spirit, and grateful to the author that we had sate with him in heavenly places in Christ.

Anastasis, (Sacred Dramatic Dialogues on the Resurrection of our Saviour,) the Temptations of the Wilderness, Bathsheba, and other Poems. By THOMAS CURTIS, D. D., original editor of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, and editor throughout of the *London Encyclopædia*. New-York: Leavitt & Co. 12mo, pp. 143.

The leading poem in this collection had its origin in a proposition to reduce the testimony in reference to our Lord's resurrection to legal forms, to be submitted to a moot court created for the purpose, at which a distinguished chief-justice was to preside. The plan, for some reason, was not executed, but from the materials came forth this poem. The testimony is well arranged, and woven into a powerful argument, while the parts sustained are true to the historical characters introduced. There is sometimes an obscurity in the elaborated language of the poem, not unlike that which is so often manifest in the poems of Dr. Curtis's associate in literary labors, Coleridge, and there are occasional lines where the versification loses its usual flow; but these faults are far more than balanced by the sublimity of the theme, by the power of the argument, and by frequent passages which rise to the highest order of poetry. The work belongs to an order of poetry higher than is generally current among us, and addresses itself unquestionably to the "fit audience, though few." The remaining poems are in a similar style, and are the fitting companions of that which gives its name to the book. Little had we expected to meet Dr. Curtis in such a walk; but the hours spent with him have been agreeable and instructive, and we do not doubt that many others will find equal pleasure and advantage in dwelling upon his pages.

Old Portraits and Modern Sketches. By JOHN G. WHITTIER. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 12mo, pp. 304.

The readers of the *National Era*, Washington, have not failed to observe that that journal, along with its special mission as a political paper, has performed a somewhat unusual part in the literary world. In that journal, of which Mr. Whittier is in some way an editor, many of the portraits and sketches in this volume originally appeared. They are tinged with the spirit of the Quaker and the Reformer; and are the more agreeable for that, because they are true to the character of the author, who is both, and both sincerely. In the Quaker past he finds, amid fancies and extravagances which he would never defend, germs of freedom and progress illustrated in the lives and sufferings of true heroes and martyrs, and these form the subjects of some of the portraits before us. But these same germs and these same illustrations were found equally out of the Quaker ranks, and Mr. Whittier is too comprehensive in his admiration of moral heroism to discard such men as Bunyan from his gallery. In one of the portraits will be found confirmation of Macaulay's picture of the social position of parish priests at the accession of James II.,—a picture generally deemed extravagant. Among the "modern sketches" we find one of Nathaniel Peabody Rogers,—and we suppose we must set down to Mr. Whittier's Quakerism the extent of the charity with which he covers the assaults of that writer upon the institutions of Christianity. He could hardly be excused on other grounds.—All in all, the book is exceedingly agreeable, not as history, not as memoirs of individual lives, but as portraits and sketches, bringing out into strong relief characters and events prominent in their time, and linked with the grand march of humanity. The subjects are, John Bunyan, Thomas Ellwood, James Naylor, Andrew Marvell, John Roberts, Samuel Hopkins, Richard Baxter, William Leggett, Nathaniel P. Rogers, Robert Dinmore.

The Seaside and the Fireside. By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 12mo, pp. 141.

Though Mr. Longfellow is too much imbued with the spirit of German song to be in strictness a national poet, he is nevertheless among the very first of our poets, and one of whom we may be justly proud. There is a winning fancy in his poems and an exquisite finish, which cannot fail to charm the reader. Unquestionably they will survive him, and become classics. The collection before us bears the usual marks of his poems. The opening one, the *Building of the Ship*, is boldly conceived and admirably executed, concluding with a passage of singular force and sublimity. We cannot withhold it:—

"Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O UNION, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What Workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast and sail and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge, and what a heat,
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!

In spite of rock and tempest-roar,
 In spite of false lights on the shore,
 Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
 Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,—
 Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
 Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
 Are all with thee,—are all with thee!"

The Almost Christian Discovered; or, the False Professor Tried and Cast.
 By the Rev. MATTHEW MEAD. With an Introduction, by Rev. WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS, D. D. New-York: Lewis Colby. 18mo, pp. 250.

A searching book is this, the work of an eminent Nonconformist divine, and as suggested beautifully in Dr. Williams's preface, like sub-soil ploughing to agriculture, the sure occasion of richer harvests to those who apply it faithfully to their souls. We consider it a good augury that such a book is received with so much favor. We hope it may be widely circulated and widely read.

The War with Mexico Reviewed. By ABIEL ABBOT LIVERMORE. Boston: William Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 12mo, pp. 310.

This volume is the one which, under an adjudication by the Hon. Simon Greenleaf, LL. D., the Rev. William Jenks, D. D., and the Rev. Baron Stow, D. D., received the premium of five hundred dollars offered by the American Peace Society for "the best review of the Mexican War, on the principles of Christianity and an enlightened statesmanship." It is remarkable for the number of facts, of every form and hue, and gathered from the widest variety of sources, which it brings to illustrate its positions against war, as a method of national arbitrament, and especially against the late war with Mexico, which it condemns in unsparing terms.

ART. IX.—INTELLIGENCE.

Literary.

In place of the ample record of literary intelligence, both American and foreign, which we had designed for the present number, we are obliged to content ourselves with the brief summary which follows, and to exclude altogether some items of information pertaining to colleges and theological seminaries which we should be glad to lay before our readers.

Among the books lately published in England is *An Essay on the External Act of Baptism*, by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, M. A. The second volume of Dr. Davidson's *Introduction to the New Testament* has been issued. It extends from Acts to 2d Thessalonians. Messrs. Johnstone & Hunter announce that the subscriptions for the proposed edition of the works of Dr. John Owen warrant them in putting the first volume to press without delay. The works will be comprised in 15 volumes, to be issued at the rate of five volumes per year. The sub-